

Shivaji

C. A. Kincaid



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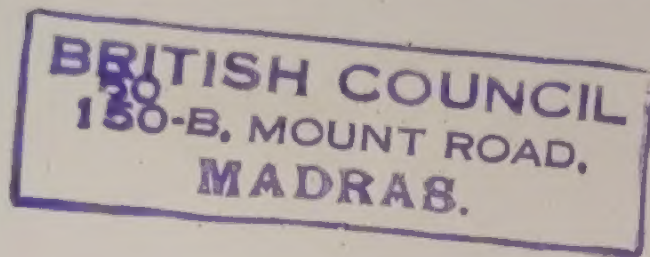
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SHIVAJI

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SHIVAJI

THE STORY OF THE GREAT KING



BY

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TO
RAO BAHADUR SIR RAGHUNATH SABNIS, K.C.I.E.

IN MEMORY OF ANCIENT FRIENDSHIP

AND SINCERE ADMIRATION

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

C. A. K.

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And all the courses of my life do show
I am not in the roll of common men.

HENRY IV, PART I, ACT III

CHAPTER I

Who was Shivaji ?

Many story books and excellent ones, too, have been written about King Arthur, King Alfred and Charlemagne, but so far none has been written for boys in any European tongue about one who was at least their equal, namely, Shivaji Bhosle, the great king of Maratha history ; and yet the stories of King Arthur were legends. Those about Alfred and Charlemagne were mostly true ; but these men were no greater than Shivaji Bhosle. It is my intention in this little book to remedy the omission and to write a simple book for Indian boys about a very great king to whom for centuries justice has never been done.

Our first question will be "Who was Shivaji Bhosle ?" He was no lowborn soldier of fortune, but of very ancient descent indeed. His distant ancestors were the Ranas of Mewar, and he came of the line of Rana Lakshmansing, who fell defending Chitor against Ala-ud-din, the Afghan emperor of Delhi. The Rana perished with eleven of his sons before the fortress fell. Ajitsing, his second son, alone escaped. Until his death he maintained the defence of Mewar. When dying he appointed as his successor Hamir, the son of his eldest brother, who had fallen in Chitor. Hamir was the rightful heir ; but Rana Ajitsing had two sons

of his own. One of them, Ajamsing, had died fighting in the Mewar forests. The Rana sent the second son, Sajansing, with a band of retainers to seek his fortune in the south. Sajansing was the ancestor of Shivaji Bhosle. The young prince became a soldier of fortune and his descendants became officers of the kings of Ahmadnagar. One of them, Babaji, made a little money and bought the *patilki* or headship of the village of Verul near Daulatabad. It was Babaji's two sons, Maloji and Vithoji, who refounded the family fortunes.

Late one harvest evening Vithoji was going home from his fields. It was dark and his elder brother Maloji went to fetch him. As he went a black peacock and a bharadwaja bird crossed his path from left to right. These were good omens and Maloji went on happily. He came to a wood and, as he stumbled along in the dark, he saw in front of him the divine figure of Bhawani or Parwati, the queen of the god Shiva. Maloji was very frightened, but the goddess comforted him and told him that in his house would be born an incarnation of the great god Shiva. He would restore the Hindu faith, and found a kingdom. She pointed to an ant heap and bade him dig and take from it a secret treasure. At first Maloji refused. "The treasure," he said, "must belong to some evil spirit. When he finds it gone he will haunt me. If not, our Mussulman rulers will hear of my good fortune and rob and perhaps kill me." The goddess told him

not to be afraid. "Go to Shrigonda," she said, "and entrust the money to Sheshaji Naik." She then vanished and Maloji fainted.

In the meantime Vithoji had gone home, but not finding Maloji went to look for him and found him lying in a swoon. Vithoji revived his brother and learnt what had happened. It was too dark to do anything that night, so both the boys went home ; but next morning they went back to the ant heap and digging found a jar full of gold coins. They took them to Shrigonda and entrusted them to Sheshaji Naik, who was known as a very honest man. Some of the money the brothers spent on a temple to Shiva at Verul and on a temple and sacred pool at Shingnapur. With the rest they bought themselves horses and armour and, thus well equipped, they got small commands in the service of a very brave man, Vanangpal Nimbalkar, whose descendant is now the chief of Phaltan. They rose rapidly and shewed such bravery that the king of Ahmadnagar, Murtaza Nizam Shah I, sent for the brothers and made them officers in his own army. There they met the leading Maratha noble at the royal court, Lakhaji Jadhavrao. Through his help Maloji married Dipabai, the sister of Vanangpal Nimbalkar, his former master. For many years the marriage was not blessed with children, but in 1594 Dipabai bore her husband a son, whom they called Shahaji in honour of Shah Shariff, a Mussulman saint, whose shrine they had visited.



[Archaeological Survey, Poona.]

SHIVNERI FORT GATE NO. I

In a few years' time Maloji had risen very high in the king's service and thought that he might get as a wife for little Shahaji, Jijabai the daughter of his patron Lakhaji Jadhavrao. At the Holi festival Lakhaji invited Maloji and Shahaji to his house. Shahaji and Jijabai played together and, just as the others did, they squirted red coloured water over each others' clothes and faces. Lakhaji was fond of children and said laughingly, "What a fine pair they would make." This gave Maloji a chance and he took it. He called on his guests to notice that Lakhaji had betrothed Jijabai to Shahaji. Lakhaji at first refused, but pressed by his other guests he agreed to the marriage. Lakhaji's wife Mhalsabai did not like the betrothal at all. At last the king of Ahmadnagar, Murtaza Shah II, intervened, and promoted Maloji to the command of 5000 cavalry, gave him in fief the towns of Poona and Supa, and made him governor of the Shivneri and Chakan fortresses with the title of Raja. Lakhaji could no longer refuse his consent, and Shahaji and Jijabai were married.

In 1619 Maloji died and Shahaji inherited not only all his large estate but also his father's skill as a soldier. He fought most gallantly for the king of Ahmadnagar until his cause was hopeless. He then left his service and entered that of the king of Bijapur.

As full of spirit as the month of May
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer.

HENRY IV, PART I, ACT IV, SC. I

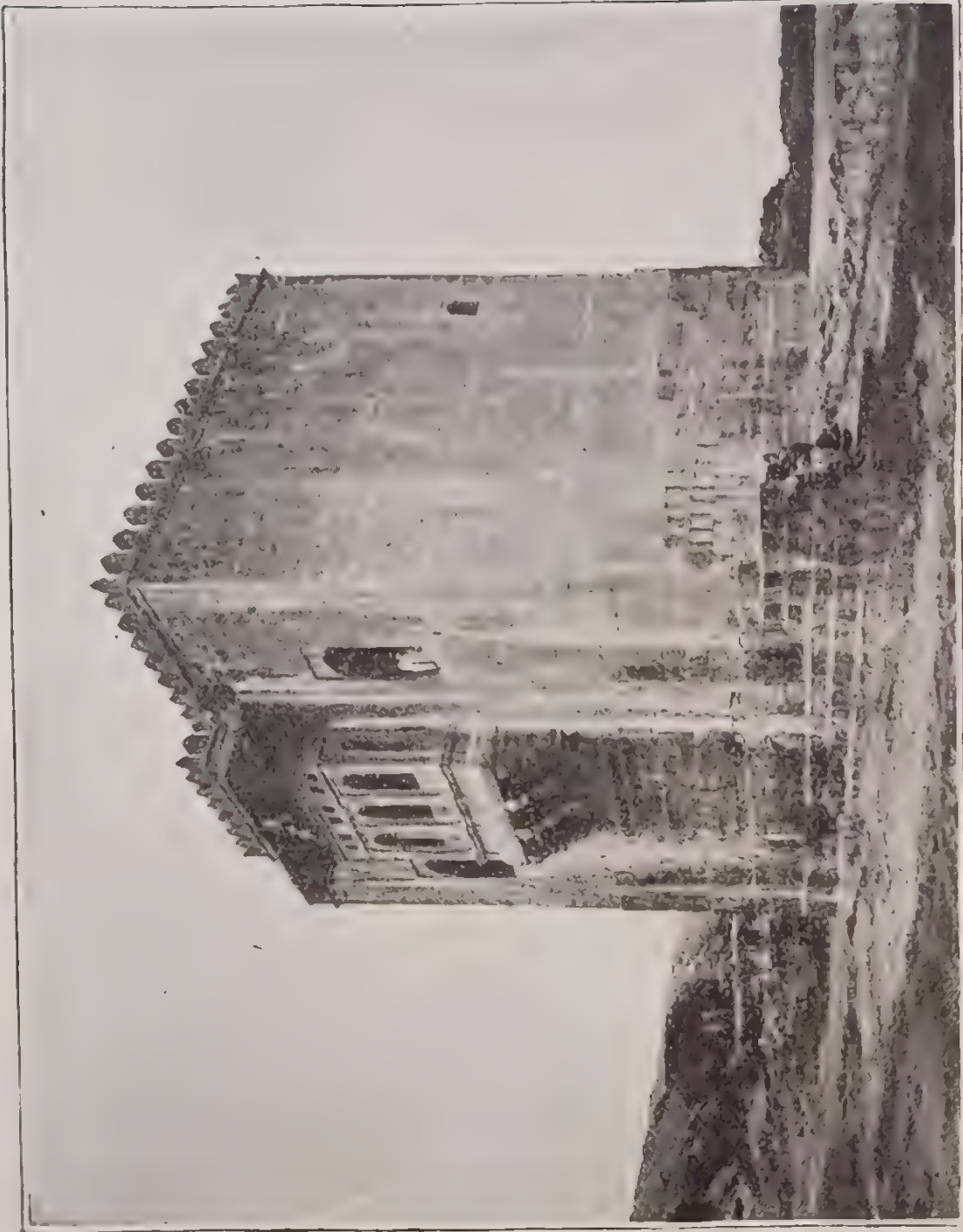
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CHAPTER II

Shivaji's birth and boyhood, 1627—1645

The marriage of Shahaji and Jijabai was for some years happy enough. In 1623 Jijabai gave birth to Sambhaji and on February the nineteenth, 1630, she gave birth to Shivaji. A pretty tale is told of Shivaji's birth. One night Shahaji dreamt that he saw a *gosari*, or Hindu anchorite, clad in rags and smeared with yellow ashes, standing by his bedside. The anchorite put a mango into Shahaji's hand and said, "Share the fruit with your wife and you will become the father of a son who will be an incarnation of the god Shiva. You must never force him to salute a Mussulman, and when he is twelve you must let him do as he pleases." Shahaji woke, found a mango in his hand and shared it with Jijabai. Nine months later Shivaji was born.

When Shahaji became an officer of the king of Bijapur, he had to go and live there. He took Sambhaji with him and left his wife on his Poona estate, but he had made enemies while fighting for Ahmadnagar. One of them, Mhaldar Khan, hoping to please the Moghuls, shut up Jijabai in Kondana fort, now known as Sinhagad. He tried to catch Shivaji too, but Jijabai was too clever for him. She hid her son somewhere and he was never caught. When



SHIVNERI FORT. SHIVAJI'S BIRTHPLACE IN THE KILLEDAR'S WADA. [Archaeological Survey, Poona.

Shahaji joined the service of Bijapur, Jijabai was set free and she and Shivaji met again. Yet if she found her son, she lost her husband. In 1630 Shahaji, far away at Bijapur, married again. His bride was Tukabai Mohite, of good family but not as good as Jijabai's. The great lady felt her husband's remarriage deeply and was never again more than his wife in name.

Nevertheless Shivaji was growing up and had to be married. Shahaji had chosen a wife for him at Bijapur in Saibai, the daughter of Vithoji Nevaskar. As Shivaji was only ten years old, Shahaji told Jijabai to bring him to Bijapur. She protested "lest Mussulmans defiled the ceremony with their presence." Nevertheless she went there with Shivaji and the lad met his father. Shahaji felt proud of his splendid little son ; but Shivaji shared Jijabai's feelings. He had suffered much from the Mussulmans and he loved his mother and resented her wrongs. He shewed his feelings by refusing to make the customary prostration in the king's presence, merely saluting him in the Maratha way. Shahaji was annoyed at his son's behaviour, for it might well stop his own promotion. Later Shivaji stirred up a riot by protesting against the killing of cows by a town butcher. Shahaji was very angry and told Jijabai to take the boy back to Poona and live on his Deccan lands.

The estate, however, was in a very bad condition. The last Mussulman commander, who had passed that

way, had pulled down all the houses on it and had ploughed up the ground with a team of asses. He then cursed the site of the town and planted an iron rod as a record of the curse. The peasants had all fled and only a few starving fishermen lived on the banks of the Mutha and Mula, the two rivers that join close to the town. The lands in fact produced no revenue on which Jijabai and her son could live. Shahaji sent back with her an able Brahman, Dadaji Kondadev, who was specially skilled in revenue matters. It seemed impossible to cultivate the Poona lands again, but Dadaji shewed that it could be done. He brought back the peasants by lowering their rents. Out of his own money he hired hunters to kill the wolves and panthers that infested the place, and he kept off the robbers by enlisting and arming hillmen from the neighbouring hills. The lands soon began to bear crops once more and Shahaji was so pleased that he added to the fief of Poona and Supa the *talukas* or communes of Baramati and Indapur. The soil of the new lands was rich, and under Dadaji's care it bore heavy crops of sugarcane and fruit. Indeed he founded a new village and named it Shivapur after his master's son. The work of Dadaji brought no profit to himself. He gave the whole yield to Jijabai. A charming tale is told to shew his perfect honesty. One hot day as Dadaji walked through the shady groves of Shivapur, he saw a very fine mango. Without thinking he stretched out his hand, plucked the mango and

ate it. Then only he grasped that he had stolen his master's fruit. He felt his guilt so deeply that he begged his companions to cut off the right hand that had made him sin. They refused and told him that he had done nothing that deserved punishment. Still the matter so weighed on his mind that for many months afterwards he wore a coat lacking the right sleeve : "for," so he would say, "my right hand should have been cut off as a punishment." At last Shahaji heard the story and told Dadaji to forget his trifling fault and wear coats like other people.

Dadaji Kondadev proved an excellent guardian as well as a good farmer. He gathered round Shivaji other manly boys of his own age. The best known were Tanaji Malusare from Umrath village in the Konkan, Baji Pasalkar, the *deshmukh* of the valley of Mose, and Yesaji Kank, a small landholder in the Sahyadris. He had the boys taught warlike exercises and added to them stories of his own youthful fighting by Shahaji's side. He made them explore the forests of the Krishna and Koyna valleys and the sources of the Bhima river on the wooded slopes of Bhimashankar. Dadaji Kondadev, moreover, did not neglect their lessons. He was a Brahman and a scholar and in the winter evenings he taught them the doctrines of Dnyanadev and of the other poet saints of Pandharpur ; and he would translate for them the tale of Ramchandra's quest for Sita or the mighty deeds of the Pandava princes.

Another great help to Shivaji was his mother Jijabai. Left by her husband and her elder son Sambhaji, she gave all her love to the younger one. She bade him never forget that through his father he was sprung from the Ranas of Udaipur, and through her father from the Yadav kings of Devagiri. She brought him up to be pious as well as brave. She took him often to the little village shrine not far from her house. To it she welcomed *kathekaris* and *puraniks* or religious preachers to translate and expound to him, better than even Dadaji could do, the merits and virtues of the lord Krishna.

“ I do love
My country's good with a respect more tender
More holy and profound than mine own life.”

CORIO LANUS, ACT III, SC. 3

CHAPTER III

The rise of Shivaji, 1643—1648

In 1643 Shivaji was sixteen years old ; yet schooled by Dadaji and trained by Jijabai he felt himself equal to his self-appointed task, the freeing of the Maratha nation. He won the affections of all the hillmen in the mountains near Poona, thus gaining useful helpers for the work that lay before him. In 1646, when nineteen years old, he deemed that his hour had struck. He seized the great fort of Torna to the south of his father's Poona estate.

The rains at Torna are very heavy, and in the monsoon the climate is damp and chilly; it had been the habit of the commandant and his small garrison to go down the hill and spend the rainy season in the valley. There seemed no harm in this. If a Moghul enemy appeared, there would always be ample time to re-occupy the fort, and during the monsoon no Moghul enemy was likely to come. The attack of a Maratha rebel was never dreamt of. Suddenly Shivaji, with Yesaji Kank, Tanaji Malusare and Baji Pasalkar, his three most trusted comrades, occupied the empty fort. They had with them a thousand hillmen; and Shivaji, to keep his conquest, began to fortify it with all speed. The ramparts were old and in ruins, but Shivaji re-

paired them, and as he did so found, just as his grandfather Maloji had done, a hidden treasure, no doubt left there when the fort had been stormed in some earlier time.

The commandant did not try to retake the fort by storm. He wrote an angry letter, telling the Bijapur government what had happened. Shivaji, at the same time, sent another letter in which he pointed out how slack and careless the commandant had been. He urged the king to appoint as governor of the fortress one who would guard it faithfully for Bijapur rather than keep on as governor one who could not defend it in peace time. To this letter he added gifts of money to the king's ministers, drawn from the treasure found at Torna. The wretched commandant got no satisfaction. He received a scolding instead. He was dismissed and Shivaji replaced him, and when Shivaji offered to pay a larger rent for the lands round Torna, they were added to his father's fief.

Further, to guard the southern frontier of his father's estate, Shivaji seized a hill called Murumdev, only six miles from Torna. He fortified it and changed its name to Rajgad, which it is still called. This reckless act of Shivaji vexed greatly Dadaji Kondadev. Devoted to Shahaji and very fond of his young charge, Dadaji fretted to see him falling, as he thought, into evil ways. He scolded the boy first, but in vain, and then wrote to Shahaji about him. The father's reply gave him no satisfaction. The old Brahman fell ill of

worry and at last died of it. Just before his death he sent for Shivaji, commended him to his subordinates and handed over to him the keys of the estate. With them he gave to his beloved charge his last blessing.

The keys gave Shivaji Poona ; but in Supa, the other half of Shahaji's original fief, the commandant was Sambhaji Mohite. He was the brother of Shahaji's second wife and was glad of an excuse to quarrel with Jijabai and her son. He refused to recognise Shivaji's claim without an order from Shahaji. Shivaji dealt summarily with Mohite's objection. He surprised him in bed, enlisted his guards in his own force and sent Mohite to Shahaji at Bangalore. The officers in charge of Baramati and Indapur made no opposition. The young Bhosle thus became master of all Shahaji's Deccan property, and by a bribe to the Mussulman governor of Kondana, which he renamed Sinhagad or the Lion's Fort, he secured another great stronghold on his frontier. There remained Purandar, the largest fortress of them all. The commandant, Nilkanth Naik, who had been a great friend of Shahaji and his family, died about the same time as Dadaji Kondadev. Nilkanth's sons quarrelled because the eldest claimed to succeed alone to the estate. The other sons appealed to Bijapur. As no answer came, the sons made Shivaji arbitrator. He settled the dispute in a way that satisfied all parties. He took over the fort himself. To the eldest son he gave a large grant of land below Purandar ; the second son

he made superintendent of his own artillery and transport ; he made the third son an officer of his cavalry.

The southern portion of the Bhosle fief was now protected, but Shivaji had no money left. The bribes, the upkeep of his troops, the strengthening of his new forts had taken it all. There was nothing left for him but acts of plunder. These meant open war with Bijapur.

"Full bravely has the sword
"The maiden sword!"

HEAVEN IV, PART I, ACT I SCENE I

CHAPTER IV

War with Bijapur, 1655—1659

In the centre of what is now the collectorate of Thana lay the rich town of Kalyan. It, and not Thana, was then the capital of the district and it was ruled by a Mussulman governor named Mulana Ahmad. Engrossed in his routine work, he had heard nothing of Shivaji. All he thought of was the collection of the government rents and their transport to Bijapur. With this treasure he sent a police escort, just big enough to defend it against marauding hillmen. This gave Shivaji the chance that he needed of refilling his war-chest.

As the carts with their escort were winding their way through the Konkan, Shivaji, with three hundred horsemen, picked from the garrison at Supa, rode down the Bhor pass west of Poona and surprised them. The Kalyan police did their duty, but they were soon cut down and Shivaji seized the treasure. As he had this time gone too far to hope for pardon, he attacked the Bijapur forts in the neighbourhood. Lohagad, Rajmachi, Rairi, Visapur were taken by surprise ; at the same time Abaji Sondev, a former clerk of Shahaji and greatly trusted by Shivaji, rode on to Kalyan and made Mulana Ahmad prisoner. The conqueror sent him honourably to Bijapur. The king was very angry at such conduct in the son of Shahaji, one of his highest

officers. He sent a letter to Shivaji, ordering him to Bijapur and insisted also that Shahaji should censure his son. To the king's letter Shivaji replied curtly that he would go to Bijapur if he was granted in fief



SHAHAJI

With acknowledgments to The Shri Shivaji Raygad Smarak Mandal, Poona.

his recent conquests. This was the same as a blank refusal. To his father the young man wrote that he was no longer a child, but master of his own destiny.

The king should at once have sent a large force to

put down the rebellion, but the Mussulman courtiers, jealous of Shahaji, a Hindu, persuaded the king that Shivaji was but acting for his father. The king resolved to seize, as he thought, the chief conspirator. It was not an easy task, for if Shahaji guessed his danger he might well go into open rebellion, join his son and again try to set up the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Baji Ghorpade a distant connexion of Shahaji was won over to betray the suspected noble. The traitor visited Shahaji and invited him to a dinner party to be given in his honour. Shahaji, innocent of any crime, accepted the invitation. Led with all courtesy to a back room in the house, he was suddenly set upon by Ghorpade's servants, disarmed and sent in chains to the king, Mahomed Adil Shah.

In the king's presence poor Shahaji protested his innocence but in vain. The king ordered that he should be bricked up in a wall. He sent for masons. They made a niche large enough to admit a man and in it Shahaji was thrust. In front of him a fresh wall was begun. As each layer was completed, the king shouted at his victim : " Confess your guilt and save your life." At last the bricks reached as high as Shahaji's chin, leaving only his face visible. Shahaji still maintained that his son was alone to blame and that he had acted against his father's wishes. At last the king stopped the masons and told the prisoner to write to his son. If Shivaji did not at once come to Bijapur, the space still left open would be bricked up.

Shahaji wrote and Shivaji was in despair. If he went to Bijapur, he would at least be beheaded. If he did not go, his father would be walled in and killed. With wonderful resource he sent an old clerk Raghunathpant to Delhi to beg the help of the emperor Shah Jahan.

The Moghul had no love for Shahaji, who had long fought him in defence of Ahmadnagar ; but here was a chance of picking a quarrel with the king of Bijapur and of taking from him the plunder that he had won on the partition of Ahmadnagar. Shah Jahan sent a letter direct to Shahaji. In it he wrote that he forgave the past and accepted him as a noble of the Delhi empire. He sent him a dress of honour and made his eldest son, Sambhaji, a high officer in the imperial army. The letter caused the king Mahomed Adil Shah much anxious thought. If he killed Shahaji, Shivaji would do homage for his fief and recent conquests to Shah Jahan ; and the emperor would exact a heavy fine for the murder of a Delhi noble. The king freed his prisoner, but kept him in Bijapur carefully watched.

Shivaji had saved his father and no longer wanted to be a feudatory of Delhi. He evaded the question and got the emperor to postpone it ; but he did no further hostile act against Bijapur. He feared that he might thereby cause his father's death. The king also could do nothing openly against Shivaji for fear of the emperor. The only safe course seemed to be

his murder. A willing assassin was found in one Baji Shamraj ; and Chandrarao More, the Raja of Jaoli, a little town in the Koyna valley, agreed to help. The Raja had long known Shivaji and in earlier years had refused to give him in marriage one of his daughters. Shivaji had implored him to join in the revolt against Bijapur but had got a curt refusal. He went to Jaoli and tried to win over the Raja, but in vain. Without replying the Raja tried to arrest Shivaji. Still the young Bhosle did not despair. He sent two envoys, Ragho Atre, a Brahman, and Sambhaji Kawaji, a Maratha, to give More a last chance. More must join Shivaji and give him his daughter in marriage. The Raja at first pretended to talk the matter over at several interviews, but he was all the time planning treachery. At last Ragho Atre and Sambhaji lost their tempers. Swords were drawn and in the fight that followed More and a brother were killed. The envoys fled and escaped to Shivaji at Mahableshwar. He had not planned the killing, but More's refusal of the Bhosle's ultimatum was really a declaration of war. Shivaji marched with a strong force into Jaoli, where some of the dead Raja's brothers joined him. The Jaoli garrison fought well but were overpowered and were persuaded to enlist in Shivaji's army. He also seized the Jaoli treasure, spent part of it in restoring the temple at Old Mahableshwar and another part in fortifying Bharajya Hill, some twelve miles away. He changed its name to Pratapgad, or the Fort of Glory.

“ For ’tis the sport to have the engineer
“ Hoist with his own petar.”

HAMLET, ACT III, SC. 4

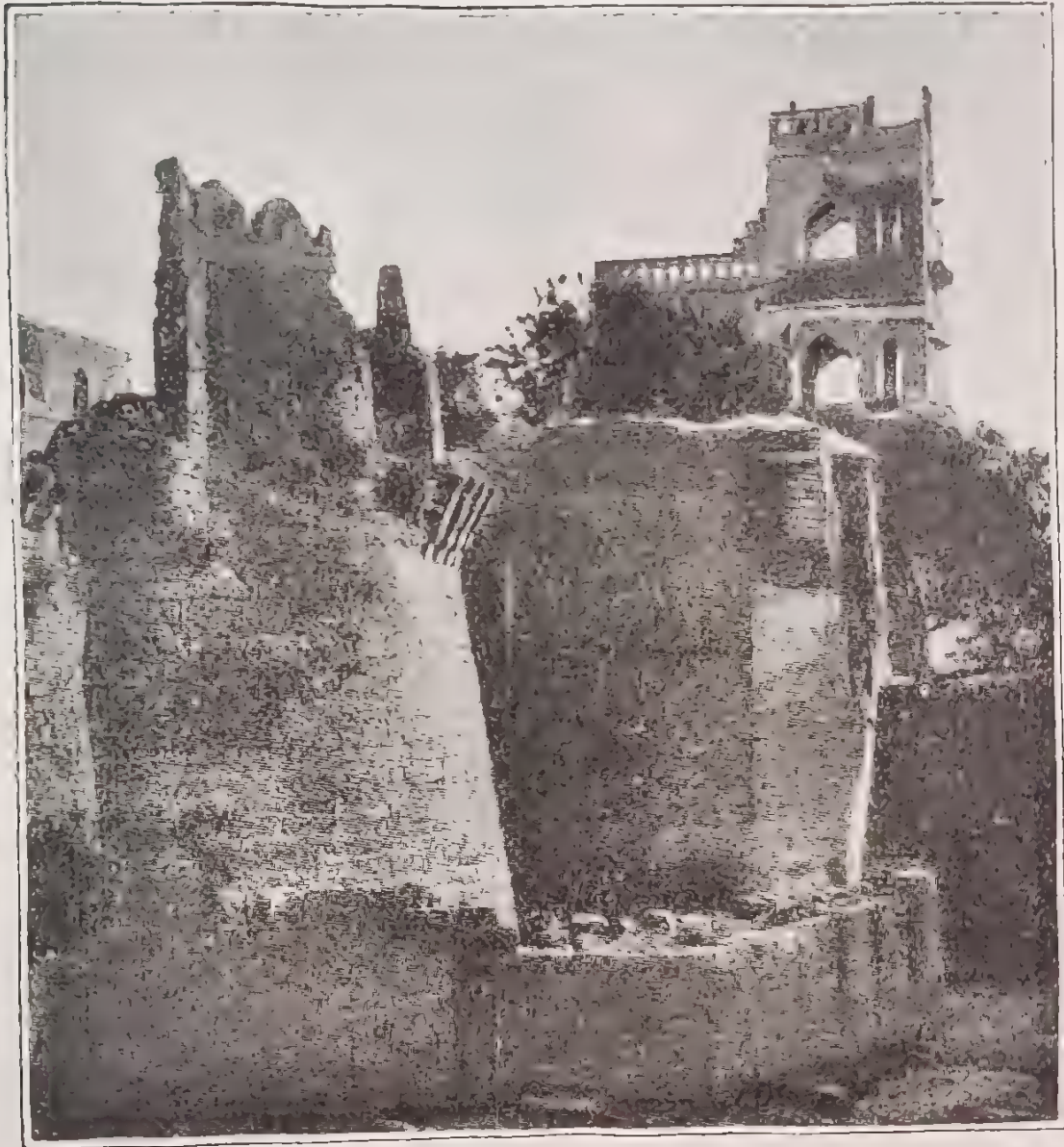
CHAPTER V

War with Bijapur continued, 1656—1659

While Shivaji was striving to free himself from Bijapur, the king, Mahomed Adil Shah, died (November 1656) and his son, Ali Adil Shah II, succeeded him. Aurangzib, the son of the Moghul emperor Shah Jahan, persuaded his father not to recognize the new king and to make war on Bijapur. Aurangzib led the Moghul army, and conquering the country round the capital, pressed the siege with skill and vigour. The young king was in despair, when he was suddenly saved by the illness of Shah Jahan, Dara Shukoh, the eldest of the imperial princes, at once made himself regent. His brothers, Princes Shuja, Murad Baksh and Aurangzib, rebelled. All other plans were for the time being put aside, while the princes fought for the Delhi throne. Aurangzib won, and after killing his brothers, imprisoned Shah Jahan and made himself emperor.

While the Moghuls were pressing the siege of Bijapur, Shivaji joined Aurangzib as an ally. When the prince raised the siege to march northwards, Shivaji renewed his attacks on Bijapur. He first tried to conquer Janjira, a rocky island off the coast of the Maratha Konkan. It had belonged to the Ahmadnagar kingdom and had fallen to the share of Bijapur

on the partition of Ahmadnagar between Bijapur and Delhi. The Bhosle saw how useful Janjira would be as a naval base and sent his prime minister, Shamraj



THE SAT MANZIL AND RAMPARTS OF THE CITADEL, BIJAPUR

Ranjekar, with a strong force to take it. The governor of Janjira, Fateh Khan, did not wait to be attacked. He landed his garrison on the mainland and surprising Shamraj dispersed his army.

This success gave the Bijapur king fresh courage. At his mother's wish he called on his nobles to volunteer for the command of an army to destroy Shivaji and his followers. The first to step forward was one Afzal Khan, a nephew of the dowager queen and so the king's cousin. He was the son of the superintendent of the king's kitchen, and was a man of great size and strength. He had been responsible for the death of Shivaji's elder brother Sambhaji, who had been treacherously killed on foreign service. Afzal Khan had been governor of Wai on the upper reaches of the Krishna river, and he knew the country round it well. The king gladly accepted his offer and put him at the head of twelve thousand horse with plenty of stores, cannon and equipment. His orders were to take Shivaji alive or dead. Failing that he was to regain Shivaji's recent conquests from Bijapur. Afzal Khan boasted that he would bring Shivaji on his own horse a prisoner to the capital.

Many omens should have warned Afzal Khan against the future. Fateh Lashkar, the picked elephant of the Bijapur stables, died suddenly. When the general went to say goodbye to his priest, the latter recoiled in horror, for he could see in front of him only a headless figure. Afzal Khan heeded none of these bad omens and made a wide flanking march with the object of turning Shivaji's southern fortresses. This he did so successfully that Shivaji fell back from Rajgad to Jaoli and thence to Pratapgad. The Khan

shewed his pleasure in this small success by defiling the temple of Bhawani at Tuljapur, the Bhosle's family goddess. He then changed his line of march and crossed the Bhima river at Pandharpur. There, too, he defiled the temples and threw the image of Pundalik, the founder, into the river. His next was Wai, where he amused himself by making a cage for Shivaji's use. At the same time he sent the Bhosle a messenger with an invitation to a conference at Wai.

It was not easy to trap a leader of Shivaji's experience. His chief spy, a Prabhu named Vishwasrao Mosekhorekar, dressed as a wandering *fakir*, had already been to Afzal Khan's camp and had heard the Mussulman boast that he would entrap Shivaji and take him captive to Bijapur. When Afzal Khan's messenger, Krishnaji Bhaskar, reached Pratapgad, Shivaji pretended to believe what he said and to be as ready to meet the Khan as the Khan was to meet him. Krishnaji Bhaskar spent the night at Pratapgad. In the small hours Shivaji entered the envoy's tent, told him his suspicions and begged him to swear by all that a Hindu held holy and to tell him what Afzal Khan really meant to do. Krishnaji at first lied, but afterwards confessed that Afzal Khan meant treachery and nothing else. The Bhosle went back to bed and dreamt that Bhawani called on him to avenge the desecration of her temple at Tuljapur. The dream helped Shivaji to make up his mind. He would pay back the enemy in his own coin. He publicly sent his own officer,

Pantaji Gopinath, to Wai with a formal invitation to Afzal Khan to meet him at Pratapgad a fortnight later. This would give the Bhosle the time needed to make a road along which the Bijapur troops could pass. In the meantime Shivaji with the help of the villagers, cut through the forest a wide road over Radtondi, now known as Bombay point. Along the road food was stored so that neither the Khan nor his men should lack anything. Confident in his own gigantic strength and in his troops, Afzal Khan accepted the invitation. Crossing the Mahableshwar plateau by the Radtondi road, he reached the little village of Par at the foot of Pratapgad. The next day was fixed for the meeting. The spot chosen was a slope about a quarter of a mile from the fort walls. There Shivaji had a *shamiana* erected and furnished with rich carpets and costly hangings. This was to honour the Bijapur general on his arrival.

He then disclosed his plans to his comrades Tanaji Malusare, the Peshwa Moro Pingle and Netaji Palkar, and ordered them to station troops on the rear and flank of the Bijapur army in case Afzal Khan acted treacherously. The signal for the attack was to be a blast of a horn. He called a council of his ministers and appointed in case of his death Netaji Palkar as regent to govern his little kingdom during the minority of his young son Sambhaji. Lastly he visited his mother Jijabai. At first she begged him not to meet Afzal Khan ; then she remembered that Afzal Khan

had been responsible for the death of her elder son Sambhaji and said : " Be careful then, my son, and take vengeance for the death of your elder brother." With these words she gave him a mother's blessing.

In the morning, as the time for the meeting drew near, Shivaji got ready. He did not mean treacherously to attack Afzal Khan : but at the same time he was not going to be butchered like a sheep. He put on a coat of chain armour. Over it he drew a long gold embroidered coat. On his head he placed a steel cap and wound round and round it a long turban. To his left hand he fitted the steel points known as *wagh-nakh* or tiger claws. In his right hand he hid a small dagger, a *vinchu* or scorpion. Punctually he went down the hillside accompanied by Jivba Mahala, Sambhaji Kawaji and a third man, whose name is unknown. In the meanwhile Afzal Khan was being carried up the hill in a palanquin, accompanied by a large body of foot-soldiers. Krishnaji Bhaskar, who walked by the Khan's side, warned him that he would never trap Shivaji, unless he sent away his troops. The Khan agreed and dismissed all except three men. Shivaji sent a message, asking that the Khan should send away one of them called Sayyad Banda, a famous swordsman. He, too, would send away his third attendant. The Khan again agreed ; and Shivaji with only Jivba Mahala and Sambhaji Kawaji stepped forward frankly to greet the general.

Afzal Khan, meaning to start a quarrel, asked how

a common peasant came to own the riches displayed in the *shamiana*. Shivaji retorted that that was his business and not Afzal Khan's, whose father was no better than a cook. The Khan enraged at the retort seized with his left arm Shivaji by the neck, forcing his head under his armpit. At the same time the Khan with his sword tried to stab the Maratha in the stomach. The coat of mail turned the point. Nevertheless Shivaji was in great danger. The Khan was a skilled wrestler and was trying to dislocate his enemy's neck. His strength was such that Shivaji all but fainted. Suddenly he thought of his divine mission. Hope and courage returned. He drove his steel claws into his back. Afzal Khan broke away and struck a mighty blow at Shivaji's head. It cut through the turban and even the steel cap, causing a slight scalp wound. Shivaji snatched a sword from Jivba Mahala, who carried two, and struck the Khan through his left shoulder. He fell, calling for help. Sayyad Banda and his other attendants rushed up. They put Afzal Khan into a palanquin and tried to carry him back to Par. Laden as they were, they were soon overtaken by Sambhaji Kawaji, who slashed at their legs until they dropped their burden. Sambhaji then cut off the wounded man's head and carried it back to Shivaji. He and Jivba Mahala overcame Sayyad Banda and Shivaji blew his horn. The thick jungle became alive with men. Infantry and cavalry poured out of the underwood and surprised the Bijapur army.

There was hardly any resistance. The Bijapur cavalry were dismounted and were cut to pieces by Shivaji's light horse. The infantry tried in vain to cut their way through Shivaji's ring of troops. They failed, surrendered and entered the Bhosle's service. Some three hundred Bijapur cavalry, led by Fazal Mahomed the son of Afzal Khan, contrived to escape, but the army's war chest, equipment, stores, horses, elephants and cannon fell into the young general's hands. He shared a large part of the booty among his troops. He took the bleeding head of Afzal Khan and went to Jijabai. She had watched the scene from the top of Pratapgad and when he came with his proof of victory, she blessed him and thanked him for avenging the death of her elder son Sambhaji. Shivaji buried the dead man's body where he fell. The tomb is still preserved. Over Afzal Khan's head, Shivaji built a flanking tower, known as Afzal Khan's tower. The dead man's sword is still in the possession of the Bhosle Sardar of Satara and the gold headed pole of Afzal Khan's tent adorns today the chief temple of old Mahableshwar.

“ Wherein I spake of most disastrous chances
Of moving accidents by flood and field
Of hairbreadth ’scapes i’ the imminent deadly breach.”

OTHELLO, ACT I, SC. 3

CHAPTER VI

Panhala, Mudhol and Savantwadi (1659—1662)

The news of Afzal Khan's death and the loss of his army filled Bijapur with grief and dismay. Other bad news also reached the capital. Shivaji, his army increased by the enemy's sepoy, took several Bijapur forts, Panhala, Pawangad, Wasantgad, Rangna and Vishalgad one after the other. He cut to pieces a small covering force under Rustam Khan. In despair the Bijapur king collected the whole military power of the kingdom and equipped an army of ten thousand horse, fourteen thousand foot and a strong force of artillery. At its head he put an Abyssinian, Sidi Johar. As second in command he appointed Fazal Mahomed, son of the dead Afzal Khan. At the same time Fateh Khan, the commandant of Janjira, was told to recover the Konkan or western seaboard : and an important landholder, the Savant of Savantwadi, was ordered to attack the Bhosle from the south.

Shivaji threw himself into Panhala and posted troops to check Fateh Khan and the Savant. This they did successfully ; but Sidi Johar was an experienced soldier and drove Shivaji into Panhala. Netaji Palkar, with cavalry and bodies of light infantry, harassed Sidi Johar, but the stout old veteran drove

them off and continued his siege through September, when the monsoon began to weaken. Unless Shivaji could achieve something before November, the dry cold weather would come and he would be lost ; for famine was already making itself felt among the fort garrison. As usual he proved equal to the occasion. He sent a messenger to Sidi Johar, asking for an interview. He obtained it and the old soldier treated him with great courtesy. All day the two leaders discussed the terms of surrender ; but Shivaji reserved certain questions for the following morning. Sidi Johar, who was a man of honour, let him go back unmolested. The news spread that Panhala was likely to fall and the Bijapur army gave itself up to revel and rejoicing. Unfortunately for them they rejoiced too soon. At midnight Shivaji and a picked body of troops left Panhala by a steep path, still known as Shivaji's window. They stole through the sleeping enemy and marched, as only Maratha troops can, towards Vishalgad.

Before dawn Shivaji's escape was known. Sidi Johar sent after him Fazal Mahomed with all his cavalry. Within six miles of Vishalgad the Bijapur horse came in sight of the Marathas. The situation was critical. Shivaji posted a strong rear guard on a height near Pandharpani. As commander he appointed a gallant Parbhu called Baji Deshpande with orders to hold the height until he heard a salvo of five guns from Vishalgad fort. The Bijapuris made

three violent assaults on the height, but all were repulsed. In the third Baji Deshpande fell mortally wounded but before he died he heard the guns fire their salvo. His men broke off the action and carried their leader's body safely to Vishalgad.

After some delay Sidi Johar followed and tried to besiege his enemy's new shelter, but unless the besiegers hold the Konkan below, Vishlagad cannot be starved out. Sidi Johar tried to mine it, but without success. The king of Bijapur took the field himself and recaptured Panhala and all the forts recently lost to him except Rangna and Vishalgad. Shivaji no longer ringed in was also free to act. He stormed Danda Rajpuri, a fort near Janjira, took a large sum of money there and made prisoners some English merchants. Rightly or wrongly he suspected them of having helped Fateh Khan, the commandant of Janjira. Shivaji made another attack on that stronghold but it too failed. He then had a dream, in which the sea-god Varuna warned him that he would never take it. He should fortify another island and make it Janjira's equal. The Bhosle treated the dream as a divine message and, giving up the siege, occupied the island of Sindhu Durg and made it his naval base.

Shivaji knew well that the Savant of Savantwadi and Baji Ghorpade were in league with the king of Bijapur to destroy him. He returned to Vishalgad and striking suddenly at Mudhal, surprised Baji Ghorpade and killing him destroyed his entire force. The

booty was enormous. The Bijapur king sent aid, but it came too late : and Shivaji ambushing it put it to flight.

The Bhosle next dealt with the Savant. Sidi Johar, who had so nearly caught Shivaji at Panhala, had been dismissed by the king for his failure at Vishalgad. He rebelled, and to put down the rebellion the king of Bijapur had to send the whole of his army. This gave Shivaji a chance of crushing Savantwadi. The Savant asked help from the Portuguese, but they sent too few soldiers to be of any use. Shivaji dispersed the allied army and shut up the Savants in Phonda. They were forced to sue for peace. The terms were hard. They had to give up Phonda fort and become Shivaji's vassals. The Portuguese also were not to go free. Shivaji marched into the Goa country and as a condition of peace made the Portuguese governor-general supply him with muskets, ammunition and cannon (A.D. 1662).

“ Grimvisaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front.”

RICHARD III, ACT I, SC. I

CHAPTER VII

Shahaji and Shivaji (1662)

The defeat of both Baji Ghorpade and the Savant and the prolonged revolt in the Doab, begun by Sidi Johar, forced Bijapur to make peace with Shivaji on any terms. They chose as their envoy his father Shahaji. On his side Shivaji also wanted peace. He had but one aim and that was to free the Maratha people from Mussulman rule. He had freed most of those under Bijapur. He had still to free the rest from the Mōghuls. Thus both sides wanted peace and Shahaji was the best possible envoy. He had neglected Shivaji as a boy, but he had come to feel very proud of him, especially since he had punished Baji Ghorpade. Shivaji for his part honoured his father as the most renowned general of his time.

The Bijapur government sent word to Shivaji that they wanted peace and were sending Shahaji as their delegate. Shivaji replied, courteously welcoming his father. Shahaji was shrewd enough to set out with as much pomp and as large an escort as if he had been going to Delhi. It was agreed that Shivaji should meet him at Jejuri. When Shahaji arrived, his son prostrated himself at full length and laid his head on his father's feet. When Shahaji left the temple for

the pavilion prepared for him, he entered his palanquin ; but Shivaji walked barefoot beside it and in the pavilion he refused to sit in his father's presence. Standing with his hands across his breast, he repeatedly asked Shahaji's pardon for the youthful acts that had led to his father's imprisonment. Shahaji was deeply touched, embraced his son and told him that all was forgiven in one who sought to free his countrymen. Indeed he pressed his son to continue his task. From Jejuri father and son went together to Poona. There they drew up the terms of a treaty with Bijapur. Shivaji obtained all that he asked for (1662). He kept all his conquests from Kalyan in the north to Phonda in the south and from Dabhol in the west to Indapur in the east, and Bijapur recognised his complete independence. For his part Shivaji took a solemn oath not to attack Bijapur during Shahaji's lifetime.

Shivaji entertained his father at Poona in royal style all through the monsoon. During the cold weather he took him on tour through his kingdom, shewing him his fortresses. When Shahaji saw Rairi, his soldier's eye grasped its immense strength and urged his son to fortify it with all the science of the time and to make it his chief stronghold instead of Rajgad. It certainly is a very strong fort. To climb it even when undefended is most arduous. Properly fortified and defended it would be impregnable.

Shivaji was convinced and ordered Abaji to com-

plete its defences. On a hill near its base he had a house built for Jijabai. When the work was declared complete Shivaji, to test it, offered a bag of gold and a gold bracelet to anyone who could climb the fort without passing through the fort gates. A Mahar asked leave to try. He had always lived near Rairi and he knew a path that the engineers had overlooked. By it he climbed the great hill and waved a flag from the top. Then he came back, threw himself at his prince's feet and claimed and received his reward. Shivaji closed the path by a bastion still known as Chor Darwaja or the thief's gate. Shortly afterwards a cowherd's wife called Hirakani was selling milk to the garrison and overstayed her time. The sentries would not let her leave ; but she had a child and a mother-in-law at home. Sooner than neglect the one or anger the other, she scrambled down the hillside and reached home safely. Shivaji built a second bastion to block this path and called it Hirakani's tower after the daring milkwoman. All ways to the fortress closed, Shivaji moved his records and treasure to Rairi and changed its name to Raygad. He then made it his capital. Shahaji parted affectionately from his son and laden with presents returned to Bijapur.

“Gregory, remember thy swashing blow.”

ROMEO AND JULIET, ACT I, SC. I

CHAPTER VIII

The Moghul War (1662—1665)

Shivaji had a good cause for war against the Moghuls. They had taken from him Kalyan, to which they had no claim. It was part of the territory ceded by Ahmadnagar to Bijapur and ceded by Bijapur to Shivaji. Shivaji retaliated by plundering the Moghul lands as far as Aurangabad. Aurangzib wrote to the governor of the Deccan, his maternal uncle Shaiste Khan, and ordered him to take the offensive. Shaiste Khan collecting the Moghul forces, advanced southwards. After some cavalry skirmishes with the imperial horse, Shivaji retired from Poona and Supa and threw himself into Sinhagad.

Shaiste Khan laid siege to Chakan, but it was gallantly defended by Phirangoji Narsala, who eventually capitulated with the honours of war and rejoined his master. Shaiste Khan occupied Poona and Shivaji moved to Rajgad. From Shivaji's house in Poona Shaiste Khan dismissed his Maratha horsemen ; he had, however, too few infantry to dismiss his Maratha foot-soldiers and this proved his undoing. In April 1663, Shivaji, Yesaji Kank, Tanaji Malusare and two hundred picked men disguised themselves as imperial foot-soldiers and got leave from the *kotwal* or

head of the police for a marriage party to enter the town. Behind walked Shivaji and his companions beating drums and playing *sanais*. At the same time another band of Shivaji's men, dressed as Moghul foot-soldiers, entered by another gate of the town dragging with them and beating a body of men whom they said were prisoners. The so-called prisoners were also Shivaji's men. About midnight he posted his troops, about five hundred in all, at various points of the city. He himself with Tanaji Malusare, Yesaji Kank and some twenty others went to the Raj Mahal, Shivaji's own house. The main entrance was well guarded, so he entered by the cookhouse. Some of the cooks were at work, some asleep. The former were noiselessly strangled by his men, the latter were stabbed as they slept.

They next entered the inner apartments by making a hole in the wall. The Moghul general was no coward. He shot with an arrow a Maratha as he climbed through the window. The Maratha, as he fell, slashed off Shaiste Khan's thumb. The general's son Fateh Khan killed two or three Marathas before he fell himself. This gallant act gave the maid-servants time to drag Shaiste Khan to another room. At the same time the Marathas caught a Moghul officer in the general's staff, who resembled him in age and appearance. They cut his head off. Believing Shaiste Khan to be dead, Shivaji rallied his men and fled with all haste from Poona. To cover his retreat

Shivaji had posted bodies of infantry. They joined him ; and the daring band retreated to the Katraj Ghat. On the top of this pass the Marathas fastened torches to the trees near it. The Moghuls made a careful preparation and then stormed the pass. There was no resistance, for in the meantime Shivaji and his men had escaped to Sinhagad.

Some hours later Shaiste Khan and his entire army marched on the great fortress ; but this was mere bravado. He had no siege guns and against such forces as the general had, Sinhagad was impregnable. The rainy season was close at hand. The Mutha river that rises at Sinhagad began to flood its banks and the Moghuls had to raise the siege. It had cost them many men, and the general's riding elephant had been killed by a cannon ball. As they retreated the Maratha horse ambushed their cavalry and Shaiste Khan returned crestfallen to Poona. There he quarrelled with Jaswantsing, his second in command, and went to Aurangabad. He sent a letter to the emperor, putting all the blame on Jaswantsing. The following cold weather the Rajput prince also evacuated Poona and fell back on Chakan. The emperor blamed Shaiste Khan more than his second in command, and transferred the former to Bengal. In his place he sent his son, Prince Muazzim.

Frightened by Shivaji's daring raid on Poona, Prince Muazzim and Jaswantsing did nothing. This gave Shivaji a chance of carrying the war into the

enemy's country. His war-chest was empty, but not far from his frontier was the wealthy town of Surat. Dutch, French and English merchants had got leave to trade there. They brought up the Tapti river the products of Europe and sent back the silk, linen and cotton of India. This commerce made Surat the biggest trade centre of the Moghul empire. Shivaji resolved to refill his war-chest by plundering it.

“ Hang out our banners on the outward walls
“ The cry is still ‘they come’; our castle’s strength
“ Will laugh a siege to scorn.”

MACBETH, ACT V, SC. 5

CHAPTER IX

Surat and Purandar (1664—1665)

Shivaji placed an army not far from the Portuguese town of Bassein, and publicly gave out that he meant to attack it. At the same time he and his chief spy, Bahirji Naik, disguised as Shivaite mendicants, explored the roads from the northern Konkan through the Dharampur State to south Gujarat. Suddenly, on the fifth January, 1664, Shivaji, with four thousand cavalry, was reported to be near Surat. The Raja of Dharampur was his friend and let him pass through his state unmolested. The Moghul governor had neither the troops nor the courage to defend the town. He withdrew into the castle and left the rich city to its fate. The Dutch, English and French could not do more than defend their factories. Undisturbed, the Marathas dug up or took openly the wealth of the rich and timid merchants, while the governor fired his guns at random, killing numbers of the citizens. By the tenth January, the Marathas had collected property worth several thousand pounds. Hearing that a Moghul army was marching to relieve Surat, Shivaji called in his troops, loaded the booty of Surat on the horses of the inhabitants, and going as quickly as he had come, took the treasure of the great town to Raygad, where he stored it safely.

On his return from Surat, Shivaji heard of his father's death. The king of Bijapur had sent Shahaji to put down the revolt in the Doab or the country between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. This task he performed with his usual skill ; but shortly afterwards he was killed by a fall when out hunting black buck. Both Jijabai and Shivaji were deeply grieved ; indeed Jijabai would have committed *sati* had her son not persuaded her to live on as his companion and counsellor. By Shahaji's death Shivaji inherited the title of Raja granted by the king of Ahmadnagar to Maloji, and he struck coins in his own name to shew his independence. At the same time he built a fleet at Malwan to plunder all ships sailing from the Moghul ports. Nor did he hesitate to renew his attacks on Bijapur, for his treaty with that state ended with his father's death. He defeated a Bijapuri army that had invaded the Konkan, and plundered the whole coast as far as Gokarna, returning to await the expected Moghul attack.

Aurangzib recalled Jaswantsing of Jodhpur and sent in his place Jaising, a Rajput veteran, once in the service of Prince Dara, and Diler Khan, an Afghan soldier of great ability. They were old friends and they worked well together. Diler Khan invested Purandar, while Jaising blockaded Sinhagad and sent cavalry to raid the whole country between it and Rajgad. Purandar was immensely strong, but it had one weakness. It had a second peak to the north-east



[Archaeological Survey, Poona.]

PURANDAR FORT

Inner Entrance Bastion from the East

known as Rudra Mal. This had to be garrisoned as well ; for it commanded the whole lower fort and to some extent the upper fort also. Shivaji's garrison was only a thousand strong, but it was commanded by a brave Prabhu called Murar Baji Deshpande, namesake of the hero of Vishalgad. Diler Khan tried to storm the fort at once, but his storming parties were driven back with heavy loss. Still, in a few days, he took Rudra Mal and thus made most of Purandar untenable. Shivaji was seriously alarmed. Purandar was one of the chief bastions of his kingdom. If that fell Sinhagad would probably fall too and his southwestern frontier would be unprotected. He resolved to sue for peace with the Moghuls, and afterwards so to strike at Bijapur that the king would no longer dare to attack him.

Shivaji sent envoys to Jaising, but the Rajput suspected that the Bhosle meant to trick him, as he had tricked Sidi Johar. On the ninth June, 1665, Shivaji sent his confidential minister, Raghunathpant, who convinced Jaising that his master was really in earnest. Jaising required Shivaji to visit him. The Raja agreed and arrived with an escort of a thousand horse. Jaising sent a messenger of suitable rank to receive him ; and when the Raja entered, he rose and embraced him. He seated Shivaji on his right hand and promised him a safe conduct to Delhi and the emperor's favour if he went there. He also sent him with his own escort to Diler Khan. The Afghan was still try-

ing hard to take Purandar and was very angry at its long resistance ; he had no wish to make friends with Shivaji, but received him in deference to his old comrade's wishes. He soon fell under the Maratha's charm. Diler Khan gave him a sword, that with ready tact Shivaji fastened round his waist. Compliments were exchanged and an immediate truce was granted. Purandar was to be surrendered, but the garrison and refugees were allowed to go free. Shivaji returned to Jaising and a preliminary treaty, subject to the emperor's approval, was drawn up. Shivaji was to hand over his recent gains in Moghul territory and all the ancient forts and districts of Ahmadnagar except twelve, but the forts surrendered included Purandar and Sinhagad. He was to keep all his other conquests from Bijapur. In return for a large sum payable in three instalments, he could collect the *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, that is a fourth plus a tenth of the government revenue, of certain districts of Bijapur. Shivaji promised also to help Jaising to reduce that state, and his son Sambhaji was to accept the command of five thousand horse in the imperial service. These terms the emperor ungraciously accepted.

His nature is too noble for the world :
He would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
Or Jove for's power to thunder.

CORIOLANUS, ACT III, SC. I

CHAPTER X

Shivaji goes to Agra (1665—1668)

Shivaji was soon called on to play his part as the emperor's ally. It had always been Aurangzib's dearest wish to conquer Bijapur and Golconda, as former provinces of the Delhi empire. Their conquest would extend his rule everywhere to the sea and he could then guard without difficulty the Afghan passes. In spite of the help given by Bijapur in the attack on the Marathas, the emperor ordered Jaising and Diler Khan to move at once against his former ally. Shivaji was told to reduce Phaltan and Mangalvedha and drive the Bijapuri troops from the Konkan. This task Shivaji carried out skilfully. The emperor was so pleased that he sent the Maratha a jewelled sword and a letter appreciating his services. In a second letter he invited Shivaji to Agra, offering him a safe conduct back ; with the letter came a dress of honour.

Shivaji was much disturbed by the call to Agra. A refusal would offend Aurangzib. Yet he understood the Moghul's character and knew that if he went, he might never return. After much prayer and thought he decided to go to Agra, entrusting his kingdom to his mother, Moro Pingle, Nilopant Sondev and Annaji

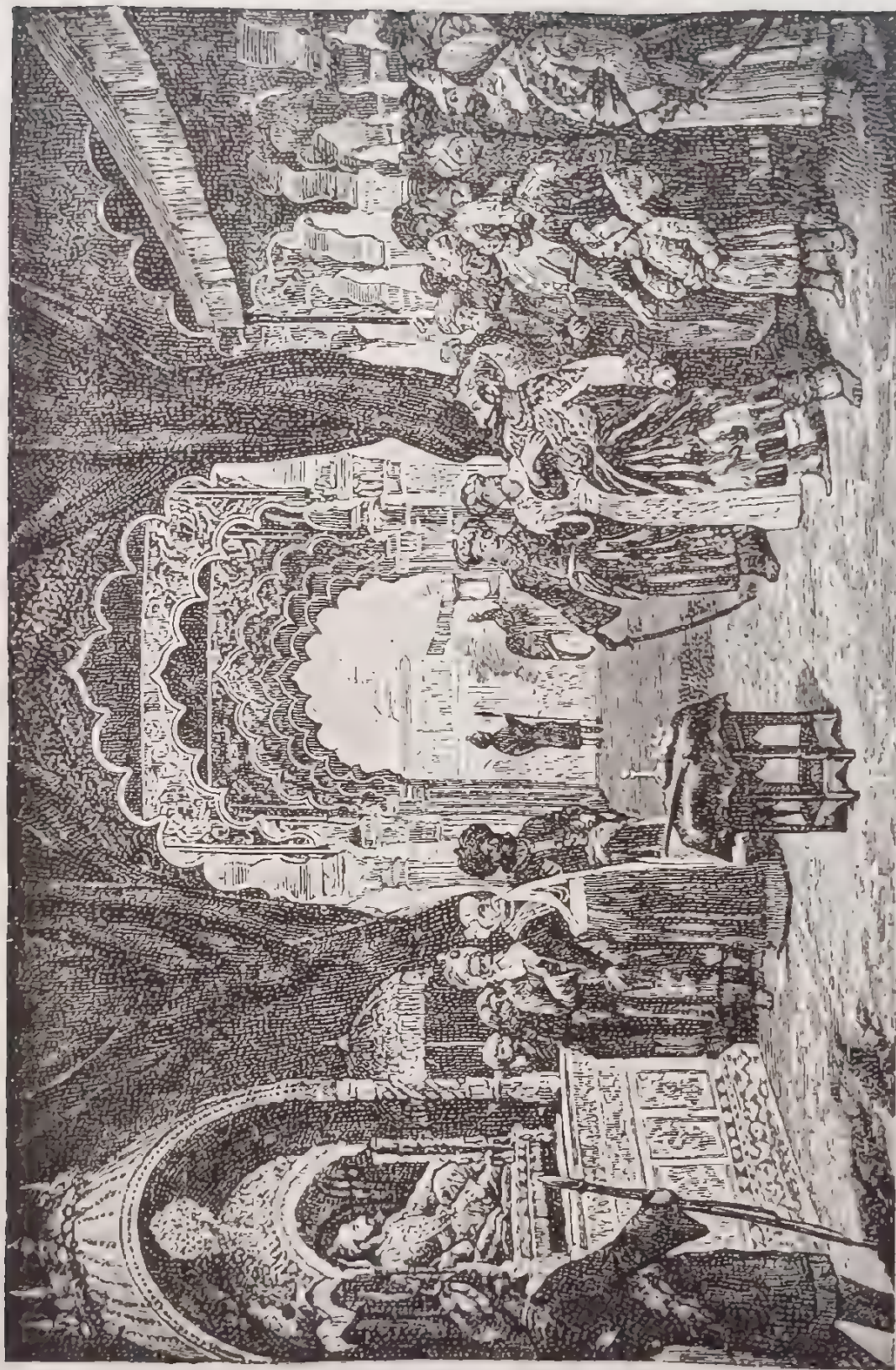


[By permission of Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh and Miss Ambika Dhurandhar.
SHIVAJI ENTERING AGRA

Datto. This done, he rode with four thousand horse and foot to Jaising's camp. The Rajput received him cordially and told his son Ramsing to go with Shivaji and see that he came to no harm, for Jaising had given the word of a Rajput prince that Shivaji should return safe to the Deccan. Ramsing was pleased to go to Agra ; he had fallen under the charm of one who had not only done great things, but was descended from the royal house of Udaipur.

After some weeks the travellers reached the outskirts of Agra. There they halted and Shivaji sent Ramsing to court to tell the emperor that Shivaji was ready to present himself when convenient. Ramsing came back with the order that the Maratha should at once present himself at court ; but the Moghul officer who accompanied Ramsing was Mukhlis Khan, a person of little or no standing. Shivaji said nothing but started with his escort for Agra. There the emperor gave him an audience, accepted his *nazar* of thirty thousand rupees and told him to take his place among the commanders of five thousand horse. This order was a deliberate insult. Shivaji's son Sambhaji and his subordinate Netaji Palkar had already been appointed commanders of five thousand horse. He had himself led ten thousand horse in the imperial service. Aurangzib meant to provoke the Bhosle to an angry remonstrance and in this he succeeded.

A Rajput, used to court procedure, would have obeyed the order and afterwards petitioned to have it



[From a painting by M. V. Dhurandhar,

SHIVAJI AT THE COURT OF AURANGZIB]

changed ; but Shivaji was a free-born, high-spirited gentleman with a Maratha's contempt for ceremonial. He spoke angrily to the emperor. Ramsing tried to soothe him, but it was too late. Shivaji had fallen into the Moghul's snare. The emperor curtly dismissed Shivaji and gave him no return presents. He ordered his detention in a house outside the city and sent him word that his conduct would be reported to Jaising. Until invited he was not to present himself at court. A strong guard was posted round his house under a Mussulman named Polad Khan.

Shivaji was now in great danger. If he tried to escape and failed, he would certainly be beheaded. If he did not try, he would probably remain a state prisoner the rest of his life. He sent Raghunathpant Korde to remind Aurangzib of his promised safe-conduct and he offered to help him against Bijapur and Golconda ; but the emperor's mind had already been poisoned by Jafar Khan, a brother-in-law of Shaiste Khan. Ramsing also tried to soothe the emperor, but all in vain. Aurangzib would only agree to let Shivaji go, if he left his son Sambhaji behind as a hostage. This condition Shivaji refused, for it would render him helpless. Instead he conceived a brilliant plan to escape. First he asked that he might send his troops back to the Deccan, as their upkeep cost too much. The Moghul gladly consented, thinking that without his soldiers the Bhosle would fall a still easier prey. He also gave Shivaji a liberal allowance and

the Maratha pretended to Polad Khan that he never wanted to go away. He was saving money, he said, and meant to ask leave for his wives and mother to join him. Shivaji's conduct was so improved, thought Polad Khan, that he relaxed his guard and allowed the Bhosle to send baskets of sweetmeats to his Maratha friends to Agra. They returned the baskets with similar presents of food ; and as this happened almost every day, Polad Khan ceased after a while to look into the baskets. Suddenly Shivaji complained of acute pains in his liver and spleen. He sent for the best doctors in Agra and they prescribed different remedies. At first the drugs did not seem to do him much good, but all at once he declared himself ever so much better. To shew his joy at his recovery he got leave to send a number of baskets of food and sweetmeats to all his Agra friends. At the same time he bought three horses to be given as gifts to the Brahmans of Mathura whose prayers, he felt sure, had won him back to health. That evening Shivaji and his son, hidden in two of the baskets, were carried out of the house by attendants disguised as porters and to the spot where their horses—the pretended gifts to the Brahmans—awaited them. Thence they rode for life or death to Mathura. In that holy spot they dressed themselves as begging priests of whom Mathura is always full.

One only of the Bhosle staff stayed behind, the faithful Hiraji Pharzand. He got into Shivaji's bed

and covered his head with muslin. His left hand he kept uncovered, for it bore his master's signet ring. As Shivaji did not rise, Polad Khan's guards did not enter the house. They saw, as they thought, their prisoner lying on his bed, while a boy massaged his legs. They believed that he had had a relapse. About midday Hiraji Pharzand and the boy left the house to go shopping but made their way to Ramsing's house. They told him what had happened and then left Agra for the Deccan on foot. An hour or two later the guards, hearing no sound, entered the house ; but it was empty. At once Polad Khan reported the escape to the emperor, who sent orders everywhere to the local officers to search closely for the missing prince. At Mathura he was all but caught. As he and his companions had to talk in Hindi to avoid suspicion, a Brahman priest overheard and understood their talk. As they were discussing by what roads they could best reach the Deccan, as well as affairs of state and matters of finance, he became suspicious and told them that their talk belied their dress. Fortunately a friendly priest, Krishnaji Vishwanath, bought the priest's silence and he became a devoted adherent of the prince. Mathura was too near Agra for Shivaji to stay there. To avoid detection he left his young son Sambhaji with Krishnaji Vishwanath's mother and started homewards with Krishnaji Vishwanath himself. They did not take the direct route. They went eastwards to Benares and worshipped there as other pilgrims do.

From Benares they went to Allahabad and Gaya and thence to Bengal. Then turning back they went to Indore. There a ruined farmer gave the pilgrims a night's shelter. Next morning they left him and a few days later they reached their goal. There were no Moghul troops in Poona. They entered it and Shivaji, throwing off his disguise, announced publicly his safe return.

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York.

RICHARD III, ACT I, SC. I

CHAPTER XI

Return of Shivaji and the Capture of Sinhagad, A.D. 1666—1670

The welcome offered to the returned hero was like that given six years before to Charles II of England, when he landed at Dover. All along the Sahyadri mountains the guns boomed greeting to the well loved leader. The sepoy went mad with delight. The officers hastened in thousands to pay their respects and to hear from Shivaji's own lips his romantic story. From Poona Shivaji rode in state to Raygad. There his mother Jijabai clasped him to her bosom and gave him back the powers entrusted to her and the Regency Council, when he left for Agra. Still their joy was not complete, for Sambhaji was still in danger ; but not many weeks later he, too, returned safely.

After guiding Shivaji to Poona, Krishnaji returned to Mathura. Then taking with him Kashi Trimal and Sambhaji, he again began the long journey to Poona. At Ujjain a Mussulman officer guessed that the handsome highbred youth might be Sambhaji and he spoke to him. Kashi Trimal answered in the boy's place ; " he is my son," he said " a short time ago my mother, my wife and my son started with me on a pilgrimage to Allahabad. On the way my mother

died and at Allahabad my wife died also. I am now taking my orphan son back to my village.” “In that case,” retorted the Mussulman, “you will have no objection to eating with your son off the same plate.” Kashi Trimal, although a Brahman, agreed at once. This satisfied the Mussulman officer and he let the party go. They crossed the Godavari river at Rakshasabhawan and, hiring horses, they rode with all speed to Raygad. Shivaji gave handsome rewards to Kashi Trimal and Krishnaji Vishwanath. Nor did he forget the ruined farmer of Malwa, who in spite of his own troubles received kindly two wandering beggars.

The prince was now free to avenge himself on the emperor. Moghul affairs in the Deccan had not been going too well. Golconda had sent an army to help Bijapur and the capital had made a gallant stand. Jaising had had to raise the siege and fall back on Dharur. After Shivaji's return he was no longer safe there. The Marathas retook what they had surrendered in the Konkan and all the Deccan forts save Lohagad, Sinhagad and Purandar. The angry emperor recalled Jaising, but the veteran captain died before he could reach Delhi. In his place Aurangzib appointed his own son, prince Muazzim, with Jaswantsing, Maharaja of Jodhpur, as his second in command. Muazzim was a pleasure-loving youth and wanted for his pleasures not war but peace. Shivaji was ready to secure himself against the Moghuls, while he made



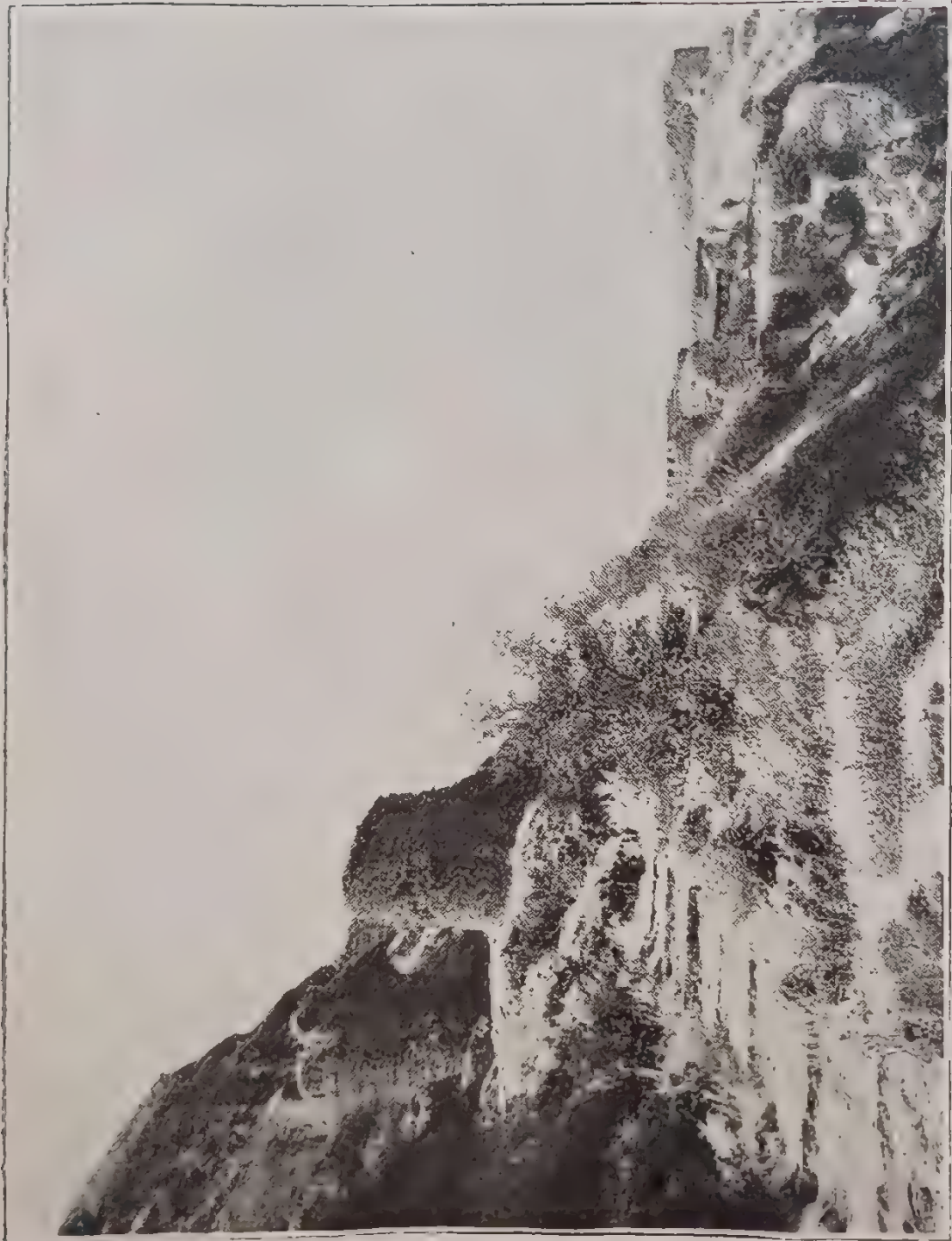
[*Archaeological Survey, Poona.*

RAYGAD FORT

Main entrance to inner citadel

fresh attacks on Bijapur. In 1668 the two leaders made a treaty. To Shivaji were returned all the forts and lands that he had given up except Sinhagad and Purandar. In their stead he received a fief in Berar. He was also formally confirmed in his Ahmadnagar title of Raja. In return Shivaji sent a fine body of horse under Prataprao Gujar to help in the siege of Bijapur, but by this time the Bijapur king was sick of the war. He got peace by surrendering Sholapur to the Moghuls as well as other lands yielding 180,000 pagodas. To Shivaji Bijapur agreed to pay three and a half lakhs of rupees in lieu of his claim for *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth*.

Shivaji would gladly have kept his pact with Delhi until he had made Bijapur harmless to hurt him ; but Aurangzib could not keep a treaty. Directly he had signed it, he schemed to break it to his advantage. He thought, too, that his son Muazzim was too friendly with the Bhosle ; so he wrote a direct order to his son to arrest both Shivaji and Prataprao Gujar. Before the official letter reached him, Muazzim got news of it from his confidential agent in Delhi. He sent for Niraji Raoji, Shivaji's envoy at Aurangabad, and told him to leave with Prataprao Gujar before the imperial orders came. The same night the two left, taking with them the Maratha cavalry. They rode from Aurangabad to Raygad. A day or two later the emperor's letter came ; but Muazzim answered with perfect truth that no longer was there a Maratha left in



[Archaeological Survey, Poona.

SINHIAGAD FORT FROM THE NORTH-EAST

Aurangabad and that he could do nothing. Shivaji, who was at Raygad, had never been in danger. He laughed when he heard of the emperor's futile treachery and said : " The Moghuls have kept my cavalry for two years at their own expense. I shall now show them how much my horses have profited by their care."

There were still Moghul garrisons in the great forts of Sinhagad and Purandar and they were an eyesore both to Shivaji and his mother Jijabai. A well-known ballad relates how Jijabai was so angry at the sight of Sinhagad shining in the February sunlight, that she called Shivaji to Pratapgad and there threatened to curse him if he did not capture Sinhagad and give it to her as a present. Shivaji was unwilling to make the attempt because of its great strength and the known prowess of Udaya Bhan, the Moghul commandant. Jijabai insisted and Shivaji gave way. He sent for his old comrade Tanaji Malusare, ordering him to be present at Rajgad on a certain day with all the men he could collect. In the meantime the Raja and Jijabai went to Rajgad to await Tanaji. When he came Tanaji complained that he had neither food nor proper equipment. These Shivaji supplied. Tanaji and his brother Suryaji set out with their men for Sinhagad at dead of night. They camped at some little distance from the base of the fort at a spot called Anandi Bari. There Tanaji disguised himself as a village headman and stole through the scrub jungle until he reached the

enemy's outposts. They were Kolis by caste and they seized him. He pretended that he had lost his way, had met a tiger and had fled to the Kolis for safety. Gifts of betel-nut and opium made them friendly. To these Tanaji added presents of cheap jewellery. Having thus won their hearts, he told them that he was one of Shivaji's nobles and asked them about the fort. At first the Kolis to shew their importance told him exaggerated tales about its size and the prowess of the commandant and his lieutenant. To these Tanaji listened patiently and at last learned from the Kolis that the stronghold could be scaled on the right side of a peak known as the Dongri cliff. This was what Tanaji wanted most to know. He left soon afterwards, promising the Kolis handsome gifts if he took the fort. He returned quickly to the camp and collecting his men went back to Sinhagad the same night lest the Kolis should talk about his presence to Udaya Bhan.

The usual method of escalade in the Deccan at the time was to send a trained *ghorpad* or large lizard up the side of a fortress with a rope ladder tied round its body. On reaching the top the *ghorpad* drove its claws into the ground so firmly that a boy of five or six could climb up the ladder. When the boy had climbed up, he fastened the rope ladder with iron pegs, thus enabling a body of men to follow him. This method Tanaji followed. He had with him a perfectly trained *ghorpad* called Yeshwanti, with whose help Shivaji

had already taken twenty-seven forts. Tanaji led the escalade ; but when he and fifty men had gathered on the top of Dongri cliff, the rope broke. Tanaji, however, rushed to the Kalyan gate and—so it is generally believed—opened it with the aid of the goddess Bhawani to whom Shivaji had built a shrine at Pratapgad. However this may be, the rest of Tanaji's men joined the storming party and after a hard fight killed the commandant and his lieutenant and nearly all the garrison. Unfortunately Tanaji fell in a duel with Udaya Bhan. Suryaji, Tanaji's brother, took command, hauled down the imperial standard and hoisted Shivaji's in its place. Five cannon were fired and some buildings and haystacks were set alight to let the Raja know that the fortress had been taken. Shivaji hastened from Rajgad and mounted the bridle path up Sinhagad. He entered through the Kalyan gate and soon saw the body of his gallant comrade Tanaji Malusare. As his officers crowded round to congratulate him on the capture of Sinhagad (the lion's fort), he exclaimed bitterly : “ I have won the fort, but I have lost the lion ” (February 17, 1670). A few days later Tanaji's brother, Suryaji, stormed Purandar and thus recovered the last of the fortresses surrendered by Shivaji to the Moghul emperor.

“Yield not thy neck
To fortune’s yoke, but let thy dauntless mind
Still ride in triumph over all mischance.”

HENRY VI, PART 3, ACT III, SC. 3

CHAPTER XII

Junnar, Janjira, Surat and Salher (1670—1671)

After his escape from Agra, Shivaji had had an unbroken series of triumphs ; he was now to experience evil fortune. He had been born on the top of the great fort to Shivneri near Junnar, and he wanted to win it so as to guard his northern frontier. He sent a storming party to take it ; but when their leader had climbed to the top, the wife of one of the Moghul soldiers saw him. She threw a stone at him with such force and such good aim, that it knocked him backwards. As he fell, he overturned those who followed him. The noise of their fall roused the garrison ; they cut the ladders to which the storming party clung and the assault failed.

Shivaji then turned again to Janjira. Fateh Khan had conquered a wide stretch of the Konkan while the prince was a captive. Shivaji drove him easily to his island stronghold. There Fateh Khan fought back stubbornly ; but the Marathas gained command of the sea and Fateh Khan, besieged by land and water, was in despair. He offered to hand over Janjira if he and his garrison were let go free. Shivaji, who wanted the powerful naval base, agreed at once ; but fortune again was hostile.

Fateh Khan was an Afghan. His leading subordinates were Sidis or Abyssinians and had been put in command of Janjira before the fall of Ahmadnagar. When Janjira passed to Bijapur on the partition of Ahmadnagar, the Bijapur king made his own officer, Fateh Khan, commandant over the heads of the Sidis. When they came to hear of Fateh Khan's treason, they seized him and put him in chains. They wrote a letter to Bijapur explaining their conduct ; and at the same time they wrote to Aurangzib, offering to hold Janjira for the emperor if he would support them and save the fortress from the infidel. The emperor gladly agreed and sent to Janjira a strong squadron from Surat. This naval help restored to the garrison the command of the sea and Shivaji had to raise the siege.

This was a reverse, but misfortune only spurred Shivaji to new feats of daring. To punish the Moghuls for their aid to Janjira, the Bhosle decided to plunder Surat a second time. In spite of the Maratha raid in 1664, the Moghuls had done nothing to protect the town from further attack. On October 1st, 1670, news reached Surat that a Maratha army fifteen thousand strong was in Gujarat. Two days later it could be seen from the town. As before, the governor and garrison retired into the castle and fired at random into the town, killing many of the inhabitants. The townspeople fled into the country. The English, French and Dutch merchants got ready to

defend their factories. So, too, did the Persian and Turkish merchants ; while a fugitive prince from Kashgar with his followers gallantly manned the walls of his *seraglio*. While the bulk of the hostile army plundered the town, some picked troops attacked the French factory. The French resisted bravely, but at last gave the Marathas a free passage on their promise to do the factory no damage. The Marathas' only aim, they said, was the Kashgar prince's *seraglio*. The fugitive prince and his men defended themselves with such valour that by nightfall the Marathas had not forced an entrance. During the darkness the Kashgar prince fled with his followers, women, money and jewels to the castle. He left behind a quantity of gold and silver plate that next day fell into Maratha hands. An assault was at the same time made on the English factory, but it was repelled by the gallantry of the factors led by Streinsham Master. A second assault was made on October 4th, but it also failed. On the fifth the Marathas brought up fresh troops and warned the English that Shivaji's honour would force him to storm the factory at all costs, unless they shewed their submission by sending him a present. Streinsham had no wish to force the Marathas to storm his factory. He sent two Englishmen with a peace offering to the Raja's camp. Shivaji received them with great courtesy, assured them of his friendship and took their hands in his, promising never to do them any harm. The same evening he withdrew his army

laden with booty ; but before he left, he sent a letter to the Surat merchants, warning them that unless they paid him an annual tribute of twelve lakhs, he would come again and burn Surat to the ground.

After the first raid Shivaji had fled back to the Konkan through Dharampur ; but this time his army was larger and better armed and he himself more confident. He marched back along the main road from Surat towards Aurangabad. This was an open challenge to the Delhi power and it was at once accepted. A body of Moghul cavalry under Daud Khan set out to harass his rearguard, while a large Moghul army blocked the Nasik pass. Had Shivaji not known of the enemy's plan it might have succeeded, but he learnt it all from his spies. He sent his plunder through other passes into the Konkan. He then turned suddenly on Daud Khan's cavalry and cut it to pieces at Khadase. Doubling back, he attacked the Moghuls at the Nasik pass and dispersing them, continued his journey unmolested to Raygad.

With the plunder of Surat Shivaji was able to equip thirty thousand fresh troops and a powerful fleet. He feinted with his navy along the Gujarat coast as far as Broach. The Moghuls, thinking that the Marathas meant to raid Broach, sent a strong force to protect Gujarat. To do so they had to weaken their garrisons in Khandesh, as Shivaji had hoped. He swiftly led an army there. The Moghul troops fought bravely but were outnumbered and separately

defeated. Aundha, Patta, Trimbak and Salher fell and the Marathas laid waste the whole fertile province as far as Burhanpur on its north-eastern frontier. At the same time Moro Pingle went down the Nasik pass, reduced the Jawhar state and levied large sums of money throughout northern Thana.

Angry at these reverses, the emperor relieved Jaswant Sing and sent in his place the veteran Mahabat Khan, who had once taken Daulatabad for Shah Jahan. With the new commander he sent forty thousand fresh troops. Mahabat Khan recaptured Aundha and Patta, and early in the next year (1672) laid siege to Salher and defeated a force sent to its help. Shivaji ordered Moro Pingle and Prataprao Gujar to go with all their available troops to its relief. Mahabat Khan sent the bulk of his army under his lieutenant Ikhlas Khan to turn them back. The Marathas were advancing in two columns, Prataprao Gujar on the west of Salher and Moro Pingle on the east. Ikhlas Khan threw himself between them, hoping to stop their junction and to destroy them one after the other ; but the Marathas were too many and too swift for the plan to succeed. After a confused running battle that lasted twelve hours the two Maratha armies joined in the centre. There they held Ikhlas Khan and turned both his flanks. At last vigorous charge won the day. Only two thousand men including Ikhlas Khan escaped. The rest of the Moghul army, about twenty thousand strong, either fell on the field or surrendered.

Six thousand horses, one hundred and twenty-five elephants and a vast spoil of jewels and treasure became the prize of the victors; but the gain in prestige was greater still. For the first time Marathas had won a pitched battle against a disciplined army led by a veteran Moghul commander. Deserters from Bijapur and Delhi and volunteers from all parts of the Deccan flocked in thousands to the standard of the king. Mahabat Khan could no longer hope to take Salher. He withdrew with the remains of his beaten army behind the walls of Aurangabad.

“ Turn him to any cause of policy

“ The Gordian knot of it he will unloose.”

HENRY V, ACT I, SC. I

CHAPTER XIII

Golconda, Hubli and Phonda (1672—1674)

The emperor felt deeply the disaster of Salher and believed, as always, that it was due to his officers' treachery. He at once recalled Mahabat Khan and Prince Muazzim and replaced the latter by Khan Jahan Bahadur, the Governor of Gujarat, and the former by Diler Khan. The choice was not a good one. Diler Khan gave up the offensive and tried to keep the Marathas out of Khandesh by a chain of block-houses along the Western Ghats ; but the Marathas turned aside from Khandesh and overran the country between Ahmadnagar and Aurangabad. Khan Jahan chased them from place to place but never caught them. At last Shivaji felt that he could altogether neglect the incompetent commander and engaged in a new and distant campaign.

Near Madras was the small town of San Thomé. It had belonged to the Portuguese, but from them the king of Golconda took it. Then M. de la Haye, the governor of the French factory at Surat, successfully raided San Thomé from the sea and occupied it. The king of Golconda sent all his available troops to retake it. When his troops were well on the way to the eastern coast, Shivaji appeared with a large Maratha

force at the gates of Hyderabad, the Golconda capital. The king had no garrison for its defence, so he was forced to ransom it by the payment of two million pagodas. With this money Shivaji returned swiftly to Raygad. There he learnt that a fresh mishap had befallen him at Janjira.

After the overthrow of Fateh Khan, the emperor had made Siddi Sambal governor of Janjira. He died soon afterwards and was followed by Siddi Yakut, an able and active man. He blockaded the Maratha coast and sent numerous heads of Maratha sailors to Aurangabad. After failing to get leave from the English to anchor his fleet in Bombay, he made a sudden raid on Danda Rajpuri, a naval base of Shivaji. He destroyed several Maratha sailing craft and killed their sailors. He then took the town itself by surprise when the commandant, Ragho Ballal Atre, and his garrison were amusing themselves during the Holi festival. He followed up this success by the capture of six or seven forts in the neighbourhood and cruelly put to the sword all the inhabitants.

In 1672 the death of Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, opened up a new field of action to Shivaji. He did not, therefore, retaliate on Janjira. In March 1673 he marched from Vishalgad and retook Panhala. Thence he attacked Hubli, a rich commercial town to the south-east of Dharwar. Hubli was famous for its cloth and the English kept an agent there to buy Indian cloth for sale in England. The Marathas

under Annaji Datto surprised the Bijapuri garrison and the plunder of Hubli exceeded even that of Surat. From the English stores alone cloth worth nearly three thousand pounds was taken. The English demanded compensation but Shivaji rejected their claim, offering them only seventy pounds in full settlement ; but Gerald Aungier, the governor, was able to put pressure on the Marathas. He brought to the notice of Shivaji the demand of the Moghuls to shelter their fleet in Bombay harbour. The Maratha prince still refused their claim, but offered to pay them compensation for certain damage done to their factory at Rajapur, provided they again settled there. They agreed to this, but refused to sell him cannon. Not to offend the Moghuls and to maintain pressure on Shivaji, Gerald Aungier let four Moghul frigates anchor in his port. The rest of the Moghul fleet sailed back to Surat.

In the monsoon of 1673 the Bijapur governor of Karwar revolted and plundered both the English and the Portuguese. This gave Shivaji an excuse to attack Bijapur both by land and sea. He anchored off Karwar and landed a strong Maratha force. They drove out the rebel governor, plundered Ankola and Karwar and forced the Raja of Bednur to promise an annual tribute to Shivaji. After the monsoon the Bhosle in person laid siege to Phonda, which had fallen into Bijapur hands. The Mussulman garrison defended it bravely ; and the Moghul fleet, to distract the besiegers, left Surat, entered Bombay harbour and,

in spite of Aungier's protests, landed at the mouth of the river Pen and laid waste the countryside. Shivaji censured Aungier for letting the Moghul troops land ; then he sent a contingent that surprised and cut the raiders to pieces.

The gallant defence of Phonda tempted the Bijapur government to try the recapture of Panhala. They ordered their western viceroy, Abdul Karim, to lay siege to it. Shivaji detached Prataprao Gujar to cut Abdul Karim's communications. Threatened with famine the Bijapur general fell back on his capital ; but Prataprao Gujar caught him up at Umbrani, between Miraj and Bijapur, and as he retreated, turned both his flanks. Abdul Karim unable to win by open fighting, used his cunning. He sent an envoy to Prataprao, promising that Bijapur would never again attack the Marathas, if they would let the army go. Abdul Karim had no power to make such an offer, still it deceived Prataprao Gujar, who foolishly believed in his enemy's good faith. He took Abdul Karim's signed promise and let him and his troops go.

Shivaji censured Prataprao sharply ; but the censure only made him insubordinate. With his cavalry he raided the Aurangabad province as far as Berar. He was thus guilty of an act of war against the Moghuls, with whom Shivaji had been at peace since Khan Jahan Bahadur had given out that he would only act on the defensive. In the meantime Abdul Karim, disregarding his promise, raised a new army and again

marched on Panhala. In the absence of Prataprao's forces Shivaji could no longer continue the siege of Phonda. He raised it and marched northwards through Portuguese territory, plundering it as he went. Before he met Abdul Karim and his army, Prataprao returned and asked for an interview. Shivaji not only refused it, but told him not to show his face at court until he had destroyed Abdul Karim and his forces. Prataprao again lost his temper and joining Shivaji's main army, made, before the battle opened, a headlong charge upon the Bijapur horse. These were more heavily armed than the Marathas, whom they drove back with great slaughter. In the charge Prataprao fell. Abdul Karim followed up his success and had all but won the battle, when Hansaji Mohite, with five thousand cavalry kept as a reserve, fell on the flank of the Bijapur troops, advancing in the disorder of victory. This movement at once changed the battle. The Maratha army rallied with their usual quickness and drove Abdul Karim from the field and forced him to retreat to Bijapur. All Shivaji's joy at his victory was turned to grief by the death of Prataprao Gujar. He gave large grants of land to Prataprao Gujar's near relatives and chose Prataprao's daughter to be the bride of his second son Rajaram. The post of commander-in-chief he gave to Hansaji Mohite with the title of Hambirrao as a reward for his timely charge.

“The king’s name is a tower of strength.”

RICHARD III, ACT V, SC. 3

CHAPTER XIV

Shivaji's Coronation (1674—1676)

Shivaji had long felt the difficulty of his position. He was in fact king over a large territory, yet there was a flaw in his title. He had inherited the title of Raja from his father ; but it had been conferred by the Ahmadnagar government that had long ceased to exist. Aurangzib had acknowledged Shivaji as Raja and made him a noble of the Delhi empire ; but because of the emperor's many treacheries, Shivaji had renounced his allegiance to him. It was therefore impossible to say whence he derived his rank. This was no trifling difficulty. The high-spirited Deccan nobles were willing to follow a great captain on the battlefield ; but on state occasions they were jealous that a Bhosle should take precedence over Nimbalkars, Sawants and Ghorpades.

Shivaji talked of the matter to Balaji Awji Chitnis, and the latter suggested that he should receive his crown from a Benares priest and not from any secular hand. It so chanced that a very holy Brahman called Gaga Bhat was at the time at Paithan, a sacred town on the Godavari river, and Chitnis mentioned him as a proper person to crown a Maratha king. Shivaji agreed and told Chitnis to go himself to Paithan and invite Gaga Bhat to Raygad. There he was to crown

Shivaji according to the manner of the ancient Hindu emperors. Gaga Bhat objected that Shivaji was a Maratha, while the ceremonial that he wanted was reserved for Kshattrya or Rajput kings. Chitnis met this objection by a genealogical tree that proved Shivaji's descent from the Maharanas of Udaipur. Gaga Bhat asked for time to consult his brethren on the banks of the Ganges. From them he received a favourable answer. Gaga Bhat consented to crown Shivaji, but on certain conditions. The king was no doubt of high Rajput descent ; but of late years the Bhosle family had let Rajput observances lapse. Shivaji must, therefore, be purified and invested with the sacred thread before he could be crowned as he wished. These conditions Shivaji accepted and while awaiting the coming of Gaga Bhat, he made at Raygad vast preparations for his coronation. He built many new buildings and had them consecrated by the singing of Vedic hymns, sacrificial fires and holy offerings. He put a new throne in the audience hall and surrounded it with wooden figures of lions, tigers and elephants. On the base of the throne were carved the thirty-two points of the compass. This meant that the whole earth was the destined prey of the Maratha armies.

Shivaji and his ministers rode as far as Satara to meet Gaga Bhat and went with him by slow stages to Raygad. On May, the twenty-first, 1674, the ceremonies began. Shivaji spent the day worshipping



[By permission of Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh,

CORONATION OF SHIVAJI]

the various Hindu gods. Three days later he was invested with the sacred thread. He first anointed himself with perfumed oil and prostrated himself before his mother. Gaga Bhat then flung over his head the silken thread that marks the three higher castes, and whispered in his ear the Gayatri mantri, the majestic invocation to the sun-god reserved for their ears alone. On May, the thirty-first, Shivaji worshipped Ganpati and begged that kindly god to bless his coronation. Between the end of May and the sixth of June the priests burnt sacrificial fires and purified themselves by fast and vigil. The king visited Pratapgad and bestowed on the temple of the goddess Bhawani a massive gold lamp and other costly gifts. On June, the sixth, the day deemed fortunate by the astrologers, Shivaji was crowned. A great state tent was put up in one of the courtyards and a temporary throne put inside. Shivaji waited until, after many preliminary ceremonies, Gaga Bhat took him by the hand and led him out of the tent to the permanent throne inside the audience hall. Shivaji knelt for a time in front of the kingly chair and then sat on it. Instantly every gun in the fortress boomed a royal salute. The neighbouring strongholds fired in turn. Thus from Kalyan in the north to Savantwadi in the south every Maratha kept proclaimed Shivaji Bhosle king of Maharashtra.

After the enthronement Shivaji had himself weighed against gold coins. These he gave to the Brahmans who had flocked to see the great ceremony. To the

ministers the king distributed new titles and dresses of honour, and the rites ended with an elephant procession round Raygad. On the next day the king received an English embassy from Bombay. The envoy, Oxenden and his suite, had been staying at Pachad on the slopes of Raygad and were informed that they would have an audience ; they climbed Raygad and were led to the foot of the royal throne. They gave the king a diamond ring and accepted in return a dress of honour. They then made five requests :

(1) The English should be let trade freely in the king's dominions on paying an import duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

(2) They should be allowed to build permanent factories at Rajapur, Chaul and Kalyan.

(3) English coins should be let circulate freely through the king's dominions.

(4) All English ships wrecked on the king's shores should be restored to them.

(5) The king should compensate the English for their losses at Hubli and Rajapur.

Some days later the king granted all the envoy's requests except compensation for the company's losses at Hubli. He gave them two hundred pagodas for their losses at Rajapur. The king was so gracious that Oxenden offered to arrange a peace between Shivaji and Janjira. The war between them was a constant threat to the English at Bombay. This offer the king, with no less courtesy than before, refused.

“ I have set my life upon a cast ”
“ And I will stand the hazard of a die.”

RICHARD III, ACT V, SC. 4

CHAPTER XV

The Great Southern Campaign (1674—1678)

The fatigues of the long drawn out coronation of her son had been too much for Jijabai. She fell ill of fever. Her temperature rose so high that in two or three days the doctors gave up hope. On the fourth day of her illness she distributed much of her wealth among the Brahman priests at Pachad. On the fifth day of her illness she died. Her body was burnt at Raygad. Later her ashes were sent by Shivaji to Allahabad and thrown into the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges.

In 1675 a large body of Kolis and other wild tribes, bribed thereto by the Moghuls, raided the country round Kalyan. They were easily driven back and the king carried the war beyond the Moghul boundary. Moro Pingle retook the forts of Aundha and Patta in Khandesh, while the king tried a second time to take Shivner. The second attempt failed as the first one had done. Three hundred Marathas had actually scaled the walls, but the commandant, Abdul Aziz Khan, was an able and gallant officer. He had sent a part of his garrison to defend the town of Junnar at the foot of the fortress. With the rest he attacked the storming party, took away their rope ladders and drove

them into the interior of the fort. Next day the few survivors gave themselves up after a stubborn fight. These Abdul Aziz Khan sent back to Shivaji with a mocking message that they might be of use to him in his next assault.

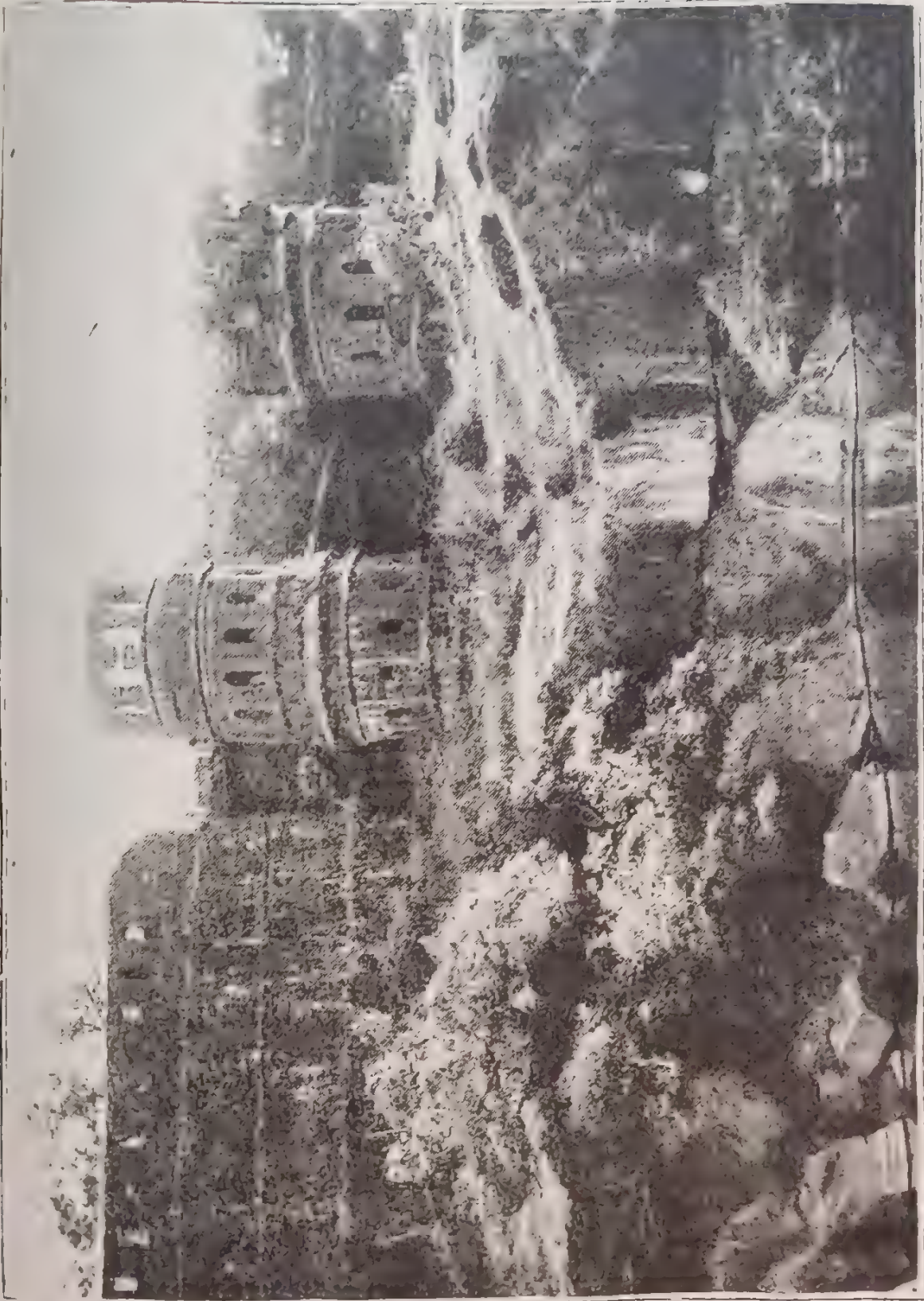
The king turned to graver matters. He laid siege to Phonda, the stronghold that blocked his road southwards. The Bijapur commandant skilfully defended it through the monsoon until the following April when the explosion of a mine under the walls forced him to surrender (1676). Shivaji spent the monsoon of 1676 at Raygad ; but when the rains stopped he took Phaltan from the Maratha chief, Naik Nimbalkar, who favoured Bijapur, and built a chain of four forts between Tathwada and Panhala, naming them Wardhangad, Bhushangad, Sadashivgad and Machendragad. In this way he made himself permanent master of Naik Nimbalkar's country. Then he fell ill of intermittent fever and lay long in his bed at Satara. While, however, his body struggled to throw off the fever, his mind conceived the boldest of all his campaigns.

After the fall of the Vijayanagar empire, Bijapur had seized all its lands north of Mysore. They extended across India from sea to sea. Shivaji resolved to conquer them and thus secure a strategic base, to which he might retire when, as he foresaw, the Marathas would have to face the full military power of the Moghul empire. To this end he offered an offensive and defensive alliance to Abul Hussein, king

of Golconda, threatened both by Delhi and Bijapur, who for the time being were at peace.

When well enough, Shivaji gave out that he wished to go to Tanjore and claim from his younger brother, Vyankoji, his half share of the fief of their father Shahaji. He bribed the Moghul viceroy Khan Jahan Bahadur, as well as paid a large sum as tribute to the emperor. Khan Jahan Bahadur induced the Bijapur government to allow Shivaji to march unmolested through their territories. The king's army strictly under control, paid for all supplies and wronged no one. In this way Shivaji got an easy passage to the frontiers of the Golconda state. There he was officially invited to Hyderabad by king Abul Hussein. After the usual state visits and a month's negotiation the two kings signed a treaty. Shivaji guaranteed the defence of Golconda against Bijapur and Delhi. In return Abul Hussein gave him a large sum of money, a park of artillery and a free hand against Bijapur and the Hindu chiefs of the south.

The treaty signed, Shivaji struck his camp and marched due south to Cuddapah. Thence he visited a number of shrines in the neighbourhood and was barely dissuaded from offering his life in the temple of Shri Mallikarjun at Parwatam. Instead he made to the temple a large gift of money with which to build resthouses for pilgrims to the holy spot. Rejoining his army, he marched on the great fortress of Jinji. On the way he took by storm the stronghold of Trinomali.



RAYGAD FORI

This success so alarmed the defenders of Jinji that they surrendered after little or no resistance (May 1677). In September 1677 Vellore fell. The road was now open to Tanjore, and from Trivadi the king sent a letter to his brother Vyankoji, demanding half his brother's fief and also mesne profits of his half share since Shahaji's death.

Vyankoji had quite a good case. The Bijapur Government had granted the fief to Shahaji and on his death it reverted to the government. The king re-granted it wholly to Vyankoji. Shivaji's reply was that the grant had been made in his absence. Had he been present Bijapur would certainly have bestowed on him half the fief. Vyankoji, sure of his rights, visited Shivaji and tried to win him to his view. In the end the brothers agreed to refer the case to Bijapur. To Vyankoji's surprise that government decided in Shivaji's favour. Bijapur was far too frightened of the Maratha king to do anything else. Still Vyankoji resisted his brother's claim and Shivaji had to enforce it by arms. This he did easily, and by 1677 he had occupied all Vyankoji's possessions. Shivaji treated his beaten brother generously. He let him retain the town and district of Tanjore and other lands valued at seven lakhs a year. Still to ensure that Vyankoji did not later break his word, he imposed on him Shahaji's old official Raghunathpant Hanmante as his first minister.

Shivaji's empire now stretched from sea to sea.

He resolved to add to it the Doab or territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers. This Bijapur tried hard to defend. A battle was fought near Torgal, but the Maratha army was stronger than any force that Bijapur could raise. They drove the enemy north across the Krishna, and Shivaji occupied effectively all the land between the two rivers.

Shivaji had thus victoriously ended his campaign and could return to Raygad. He had crossed India from west to east and then again from east to west, conquering a country as large as his former kingdom. He had fought several actions without a single reverse. He had organized his conquests by a chain of fortresses held by Maratha soldiery devoted to his cause. He had in fact done what he had set out to do, namely, one of the greatest feats of arms ever achieved in so short a time.

“ He was a man, take him for all in all,
“ I shall not look upon his like again.”

HAMLET, ACT I, SC. 2

CHAPTER XVI

The last days of the Great King (1678 - 1680)

The emperor was angry with Khan Jahan Bahadur for not helping Bijapur against Shivaji and recalled him to Delhi. In his place he appointed the Afghan, Diler Khan, who at once made war on Golconda, as the ally of the Marathas. He laid siege to Malkhed, but the garrison after a stout defence skilfully left the fort and joined the main army of Abul Hussein, king of Golconda. Abul Hussein with the help of his two Brahman ministers, Madannapant and Akannapant, had reorganized the Golconda forces. He now marched boldly against the Moghul army and drove it with heavy losses across the Golconda frontier.

The emperor saw that for the time it was hopeless to attack Golconda. So he turned on his ally Bijapur. The new king Sikandar Ali Shah was a minor and the regent, Siddi Masud Khan, was an incompetent Abyssinian. The Moghul pretext for war was a demand for the king's sister, Padshah Bibi, said to have been betrothed to one of Aurangzib's sons. To save her country the princess rode to the Moghul camp. There she was received with all state; but Diler Khan still continued his treacherous attack on Bijapur. This act roused the spirit of its citizens. They fought the

Moghuls with such fury, that Diler Khan fell back and waited for reinforcements. This gave the Bijapur government time to appeal to Shivaji to come to the help of the doomed city.

Shivaji gladly promised his aid. He knew quite well that the Moghul conquest of Bijapur would be followed by that of Golconda and then of his own kingdom. On the other hand Bijapur had been so weakened by the Moghul and Maratha attacks that it was no longer to be feared. With a large army he marched from Panhala close to Bijapur city. There he left a strong force of cavalry to cut the Moghul communications. With the rest he crossed the Bhima river and moved north into Khandesh. There he plundered Dharangaon and Chopra between Aurangabad and Burhanpur. He then turned south-east and took Jalna, hardly more than fifty miles from Aurangabad. He stayed for three days doing all that he could to induce Prince Muazzim to take action. The prince was not to be tempted out of Aurangabad. He waited until Shivaji, laden with booty, began his retirement. Then he sent Ranmast Khan with ten thousand men to harass his retreat. The Mussulman acted with courage and skill. He overtook Shivaji at Sangamner and fought with him a drawn battle until nightfall. Next morning Shivaji counter-attacked, but it was only the king's leadership that turned the drawn battle into victory. The battle was hardly over when another Moghul force tried to cut him off from

the passes. He was saved from this dangerous situation by the local knowledge of his chief spy Bahirji Naik. Through very difficult country he led the Maratha army safely to the fort of Patta in Khandesh. Further pursuit was useless, so the Moghul army fell back on Aurangabad and Shivaji reduced one after the other the forts that Khan Jahan Bahadur had built to prevent Maratha raids. He had no sooner ended this task than he received a despairing letter from Masud Khan, the regent of Bijapur.

The regent thanked Shivaji for the help that he had already given ; but he added that though the Marathas had cut the Moghul communications, Bijapur was in such dire distress that nothing short of a direct attack on Diler Khan's besieging army could save the city. The Moghuls had actually reached its main defences. The king at once sent Moro Pingle with a body of infantry and Hambirrao Mohite with a force of cavalry directly to engage Diler Khan outside Bijapur. They had the good fortune to meet on their way a body of ten thousand horse sent to reinforce Diler Khan. This body they defeated and dispersed. After this success Moro Pingle, with half the army, blockaded Aurangabad, Hambirrao Mohite and his cavalry occupied all roads to Bijapur. Cut off from his supplies Diler Khan could not maintain the siege. Before he raised it, he made a last fierce assault on Bijapur, but was beaten back with heavy losses. Next day the Moghuls raised the siege and retreated north-

wards. It was an arduous retreat. Hambirrao Mohite cut off Diler Khan's rear guard near the Bhima river. The rest of the Moghul army, harassed all the way, reached Aurangabad with difficulty.

The good news from Bijapur was spoilt by the conduct of Shivaji's eldest son Sambhaji. He had a large share of his father's talents and courage but, born a king's son, he was impatient of control. He quarrelled with his father, who confined him in Panhala fort. He escaped and joined Diler Khan, whom he had met in Aurangabad. The Moghul general treated him with the greatest courtesy and pressed Aurangzib to bestow on him a high command and set him up as a rival to Shivaji. The plan was excellent, but the foolish emperor at once began to suspect that the general was in treacherous league with Sambhaji. He conferred on the prince a command of seven thousand horse ; afterwards he ordered Diler Khan to arrest Sambhaji and send him to Delhi. In the meantime the prince had most gallantly stormed Bhupalgad. Diler Khan liked him and would not betray him, so he warned him of his danger. The two then feigned a quarrel and Sambhaji, helped by Maratha agents, rode out of the Moghul camp and rejoined his father at Panhala. Shivaji received him cordially, but again confined him.

After the relief of Bijapur the regent and the young king pressed Shivaji to visit the town that he had saved from the Moghuls. The Maratha king rode there in state and was received magnificently ; but the

Marathas have not the same love of pomp and show as the peoples of northern India. Although Shivaji seemed pleased with the honours paid him, he soon began to think them a childish waste of time. Free from any danger from Bijapur, he longed for fresh adventures.

Shivaji had long been angry with the English for the help that they gave to the Moghul fleet. Indeed, with their factory at Surat, the English could hardly be neutral. In 1679 Shivaji seized the two islands, Khanderi and Underi, known to the foreigners as Kenery and Henery, about sixteen miles due south of Bombay island. To this the English objected and on the fifteenth, October, an action took place between the English fleet and a Maratha squadron under Daulat Khan. The latter attacked with great vigour. The English ship *Dove* hauled down her colours and five other English ships did the same ; but a powerful sixteen gun frigate named the *Revenge*, well handled by her commander Captain Minchin, arrived in time to save the rest of the squadron. It sank five Maratha ships in succession. After a drawn battle Daulat Khan withdrew to Khanderi.

On the tenth, November, the Siddis' fleet came, pretending to be allies of the English. They were even more unwelcome than the Marathas. Their commander Siddi Kasim raided Shivaji's coast and took a number of slaves. He then stormed Underi. The Marathas tried to relieve it, but their ships were not so

well built as those of the Moghuls. They lost several vessels and five hundred killed and wounded besides prisoners. They fled in disorder to Rajapur. Early in 1680 the English wrote to Shivaji. They had written before, but the king had been too worried about Sambhaji to reply. The second letter he answered. He agreed that the English, if forced to do so, might during the monsoon let the Siddis' ships anchor in Bombay harbour. The English promised not to allow the Siddis to use Bombay as a naval base against the Marathas.

Shivaji was at the zenith of his power and there seemed no limit to his future successes. Yet he had grave domestic anxiety. His eldest wife Saibai was dead. Her son Sambhaji had behaved badly. His third wife Soyarabai so pressed the claims of her son Rajaram that the king thought of dividing his kingdom between them. At the same time he felt that his end was near. On the twenty-eighth, March, 1680, after his return from a raid, his knee joint began to swell. The swelling was painful and grew worse. High fever followed, and after a seven days' illness, the great king died at Raygad on the third, April, 1680.

“ Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny.”

HAMLET, ACT III, SC. I

CHAPTER XVII

Shivaji and his Detractors.

Most English historians have painted Shivaji as a cruel and faithless adventurer, but I can find no grounds for this view. He was moreover a deeply religious man and the friend of Tukaram and Ramdas, men of the highest character. Once Shivaji went into the woods near Pandharpur to visit a mendicant from Ujjain, called Ganeshnath. The king took the mendicant back with him to his camp and gave him a soft bed with rich coverlets to sleep on ; but the mendicant shamed the king by strewing pebbles on the mattress before lying down. The king took the lesson to heart ; he sold the soft bed and gave its price in charity ; thereafter he slept always on a village cot. Other pious friends of Shivaji were Keval Bharati of Kenjal, Taponadhi Devbharati of Khandesh and Siddheswarbhat of Chakan. He even made a friend of a Mussulman fakir named Bawa Yakub.

A popular story relates how his devotion nearly cost him his life. He had invited Tukaram to recite a katha or sacred story at a Poona temple. The Moghul commander heard of it and sent a body of Afghans to take Shivaji as he listened. Tukaram went



[By permission of Shrimant Rajasaheb of Aundh.
GURU RAMDAS AND SHIVAJI.]

on with his recitation and the prince sat perfectly still while the Afghans looked for him. Suddenly from another part of the temple a man very like Shivaji rose and slipping past the guards ran out of the door. The Afghans mounted and rode close on his heels, but they never caught him, although he ran all the way to Sinhagad, twelve miles from Poona. In the meanwhile Tukaram went on with his story. When it was over, Shivaji and the rest of the audience went quietly home.

Shivaji was not only a great soldier ; he was also a great organizer. He had to create an army from the half savage hillmen of the western ghats, brave enough but ignorant of warfare and depressed by three hundred years of foreign rule. He did not make the error of giving his officers grants of land, as was then the custom. He paid all salaries in cash. The infantry unit was a battalion of a thousand men under a *hazari* or colonel. The battalion had ten companies or *jumalas* under a *jumaledar* or captain. Each company was divided into half companies of fifty men, each under a *havalदार* or sergeant. Each half company contained five sections of ten sepoy each under a *naik* or corporal. Seven such battalions formed a brigade under a *sarnobat* or brigadier. The brigadier's pay was 2000 *hons* a year or five hundred rupees a month. The battalion commander received five hundred *hons* or a hundred and twenty-five rupees a month. The cavalry system was slightly different.

The unit was a cavalry regiment twelve hundred and fifty strong also under a *hazari*. The regiment had ten *jumalas* or squadrons of a hundred and twenty-five men each. The *jumalas* were subdivided into five *hawalas* or sections of twenty-five *bargirs* or troopers. Each such section had its own farrier and water-carrier. Five cavalry *hazaris* formed a cavalry brigade under a brigadier known as *panch hazari*. The colonel of a cavalry regiment received a thousand *hons* a year or two hundred and fifty rupees a month. The pay of the squadron commanders and their subordinates varied from twenty rupees a month to six. During the rainy season the troops and horses were fed in barracks at the king's expense. In the dry season they were expected to live on the enemy's country. No private plundering was allowed. All prize money and other booty had, under pain of the forfeiture of his surety bonds, to be paid by its possessor into the regimental treasury. From it the commanders fed and furnished their troops.

Several ministers helped Shivaji in his administration, namely : (1) The Peshwa or Premier and president of the Council. (2) The Pant Amatya or finance minister. (3) The Pant Sachiv or accountant-general. (4) The Mantri or minister for Home affairs. (5) The Senapati or commander-in-chief. (6) The Samant or minister for Foreign affairs. (7) The Panditrao or minister for all ecclesiastical matters. (8) The Sarnyayadhish or Chief Justice.

Shivaji was shrewd enough to see that light assessments produced big revenues. Whereas in neighbouring states the peasant was lucky if he escaped with an assessment of fifty per cent of the gross yield, Shivaji never asked more than two-fifths. *Tagavi* or advances to cultivators were freely granted and repayment spread over many years. He also gave the peasants protection in return for their taxes. He divided his kingdom into fifteen districts, all guarded by great fortresses. These offered shelters in which the cultivators could store their cattle and crops whenever enemy bands threatened them.

The king's system of manning his forts was excellent. The commandant was always a Maratha. Under him a Brahman *subhedar* or *Sabnis* kept the accounts and had civil and revenue charge of the villages assigned for the upkeep of the fort ; joined with him was a *Prabha Karkhanis*, who was responsible for the military supplies and foodstuffs of the garrison. In this way individual treachery would at once be found out. The soldiers got their pay regularly and every tenth man, called a *naik*, received a slightly higher salary. Where villages were not assigned to the upkeep of a fortress, Shivaji administered them much as the British have done. The unit was the *mahal* or *taluka*, of which the revenue varied from seventy-five thousand rupees to one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees. Three *mahals* made a *subha* or district. Each district was in charge of a

subhadar whose pay was four hundred *hons* a year or about one hundred rupees a month.

The great king's body was cremated at Raygad, where he is still worshipped as the divine hero of the Maratha people ; and I shall end this slight account of him with the words of the historian Orme, whose work has been strangely forgotten by modern students :

“ In personal activity he (Shivaji) exceeded all generals of whom there is record. For no partizan appropriated in service of detachment alone ever traversed as much ground as he did at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, however sudden or extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude ; the ablest of his officers acquiesced in the imminent superiority of his genius ; and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging sword in hand.” (*Historical Fragments*, p. 94.)

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